

PAMPANGA'S FOLKARTS AND CRAFTS GOING, GOING...GONE?



ALSO INSIDE
SINUKUAN:
LEGEND OR HISTORY?



Apung Eloy and his ferris-wheel kite

VERBATIM

"I must confess to not being very acquainted with Angeles City so that the intellectual ferment in this biggest university was a pleasant surprise to me. What impressed me most was the total dedication of the Center for Kapampangan Studies to the promotion of Pampango history and culture. Their magazine called Singsing turned out to be a wealth of historical, cultural and social information about Pampanga! Their slogan is, 'Become a better Filipino by being a good Kapampangan'. Obviously, the Pampangos are mighty proud of their history and culture, and we can only wish that other regions would be as dedicated and assiduous in propagating theirs."

- BELINDA OLIVAREZ CUNANAN, Columnist, Philippine Daily Inquirer

"I consider Singsing the best journal published in this country."

- PROF. RANDY DAVID, Columnist, Philippine Daily Inquirer

"Just a line to say how good the recent double issue of Singsing is. It has come a long way from being primarily a newsletter to many articles which easily qualify for a scholarly journal. I really learned a lot of things about Pampanga. Keep up the good work!"

- FR. J OHN SCHUMACHER, SJ , Loyola House of Studies, Ateneo de Manila University

"The glossy issues of Singsing and Alaya have finally arrived and they make my day. I have run out of superlatives to describe them which they deserve. Suffice it to say that the JDN Center for Kapampangan Studies is now the most distinguished and vigorous of all the local studies centers sprouting all over the archipelago. No exaggeration."

- DR. LUCIANO P.R. SANTIAGO, Church Historian

"Holy Angel U takes particular pride in its Kapampangan Center, whose mission is to preserve and enhance the Kapampangan culture."

- FR. JOAQUIN BERNAS, SJ , Columnist, Philippine Daily Inquirer

"Nais kong batiin kayo sa napakahusay at kapuri-puring publikasyon ng Singsing. Napakamahalaga ng isang publikasyon na mananaliksik at magsusuri sa kasaysayan at kultura ng isang lalawigan habang kumikilala sa mga pambansang saklaw at tunguhin. Dahil dito, nagaganyak akong mag-isip ng kaparehong publikasyon para sa lalawigan ng Batangas, kung saan ako sumilay. Isang bantayog ng kahusayan at kasigasigan ang inisyatiba ng Singsing, gayundin ang inyong Center."

- APOLONIO B. CHUA, Head, Departamento ng Filipino at Panitikan ng Pilipinas, University of the Philippines, Diliman

"The Center should be a model for other regions in the country in its propagation of cultural and literary heritage."

- VIRGILIO ALMARIO, National Artist for Literature; Dean College of Arts and Letters, University of the Philippines, Diliman

"I just received the issue of Singsing Vol. 3 No. 2. It is awesome! I have gone over only a couple of articles, and learned so much that is new to me. And I thought that the previous issue was terrific and would be difficult to surpass. Congratulations!"

- J AVIER J . NEPOMUCENO, Former VP and Comptroller, Ayala Corporation

"I am quite impressed with the depth and scope of the scholarship and research you undertake and share with your readers. With such superb publication, it's easy to become an instant fan. Consider me a non-resident Pampangueño intent on re-learning his past through your tutelage."

- PROF. ARTURO VALENCIA, Department of Leadership and Strategy, John Gokongwei School of Management, Ateneo de Manila University



www.hau.edu.ph/kcenter
Singsing is published quarterly by
The Juan D. Nepomuceno Center
for Kapampangan Studies of Holy
Angel University, Angeles City,
Philippines.

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CENTER BUSINESS HOURS:

The Center's library and museum are open Monday to Friday at 8:00 A.M. to 8:00 P.M. and Saturday at 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.

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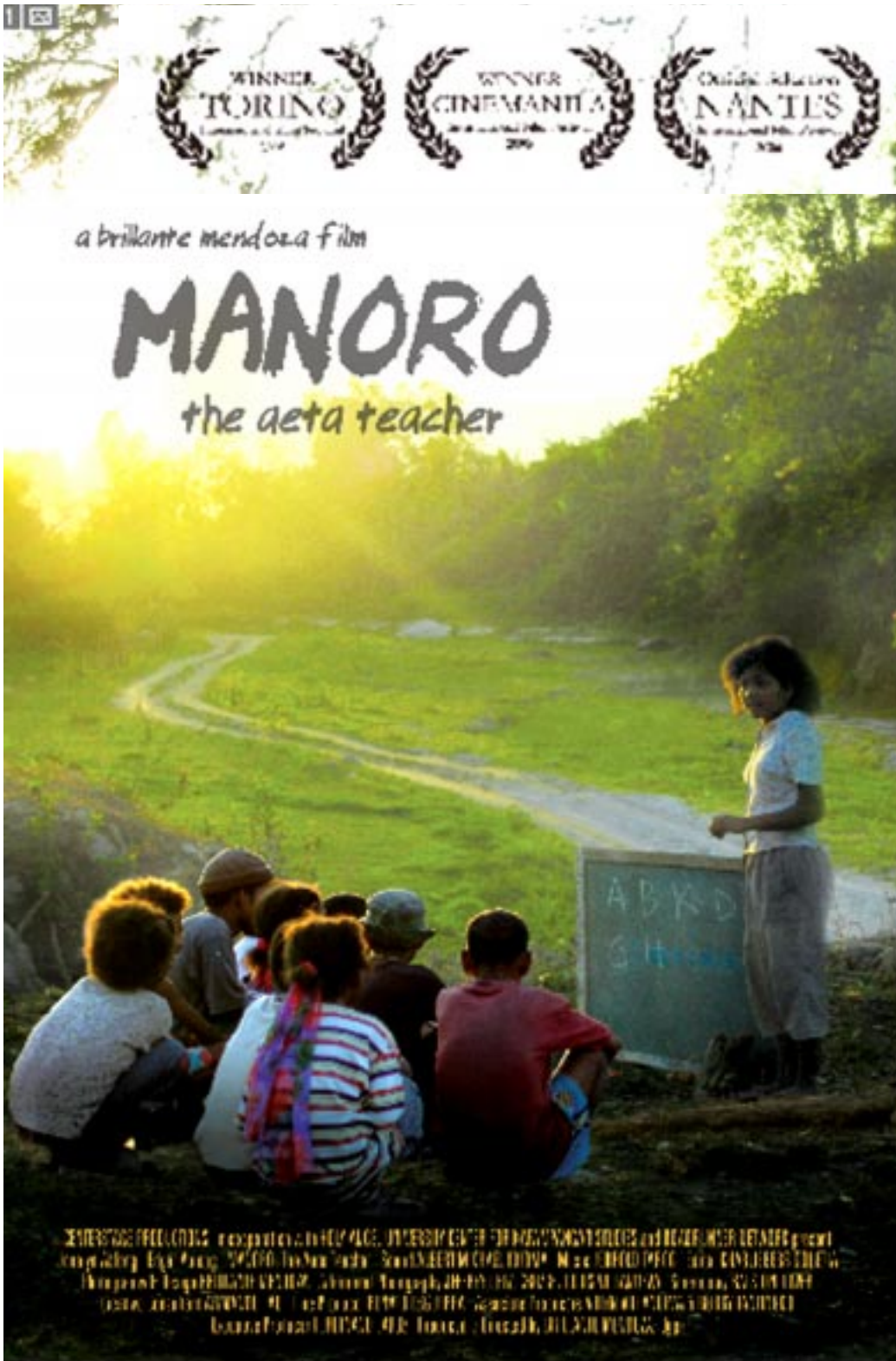
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CO-PRODUCED BY HAU

Manoro wins Best Picture in Cinemanila International Film Festival & special award in Turin, Italy filmfest



JURY CITES FILM'S "LUCID, DEEP STUDY OF THE FIRST STIRRINGS OF A NEW DEMOCRACY"

The digital movie *Manoro: The Aeta Teacher*, which was co-produced by the Center for Kapampangan Studies and Centerstage Productions, was declared Best Picture in the Digital Lokal division of the 2006 Cinemanila International Film Festival. The awarding ceremonies were held November 11 at Malacañang Palace with no less than President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo handing out the awards. Its director-producer, Brillante Mendoza, was named Best Director.

The movie also won in November the CinemAvvenire Award of the 24th Torino International Film Festival held in Turin, Italy. The Torino jury praised *Manoro* "for its choice to exploit the mechanisms of fiction to analyze contemporary Philippine reality, in a voyage of discovery of the local culture that becomes a lucid, deep study of the first stirrings of a new democracy."

Manoro (or *manuru*, Kapampangan for teacher) tells the story of an Aeta girl in Sapangbato, Angeles City who taught her tribe's elders how to write in preparation for the 2004 presidential elections.

Brillante Mendoza, a native of San Fernando, Pampanga previously directed two other movies with heavily Kapampangan content and dialogue, *Masahista* (The Masseur) and *Kaleldo* (Summer). *Masahista* won Best Picture in the 2005 Locarno International Film Festival in Switzerland, while *Kaleldo* is the country's official entry to the 2007 Cines del Sur International Film Festival in Grenada, Spain.

Mendoza's partner in these movies is executive producer Ferdinand Lapuz, who is the country's link to various film festivals abroad. Lapuz is an alumnus of the HAU College of Business and Accountancy; as a student, he won best director in the University's first inter-college Drama Festival in 1986, which he credits for his passion for Filipino movies.

FOREIGN CRITICS SAY:

"MANORO IS THE GREATEST WORK OF THE TORINO INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL"

Excerpts from "Film Culture... and How to Make a Festival of It"

by OLAF MÖLLER, (Cologne, Germany-based film critic, writer and curator)

"IT'S A FILM ABOUT A VERY BASIC HUMAN NEED-- ABOUT PEOPLE LEARNING TO READ AND WRITE TO PARTICIPATE IN POLITICS"

The Torino Film Festival is quite comfortable with being the No. 2 among Italy's main events in cinema: it has just about all the respect granted Venice but few of the Biennale's problems with premieres and stars - and no, looking at offerings like the opening night delight, Clint Eastwood's extraordinary feat of dialectics and humility, *Flags of Our Fathers* (2006), or that piece of eye-candy for historiognorati and intellectually-challenged blabberati, Sophia Coppola's *Marie Antoinette* (2006), the upstart from Rome posed no problems, probably, and considering co-directoress Giulia D'Agnollo Vallan's legendary connections inside *Lalaland* one wonders whether it ever could. D'Agnollo Vallan and Roberto Turigliatto! They are a great double to head a festival, two sides of a coin, both envisioning cinema as a playfully pluralistic plenty, popular, politically progressive, pensive, pranksterish, unafraid of contradictions - no one who hosted retrospectives of Paolo Gobetti and John Milius is - a people's art that is all about that which Danièle Huillet & Jean-Marie Straub share with Joe Sarno.

Torino's traditional strength lies in its retrospective section, which takes up at least half of the festival. Certainly more than that if one chooses to ignore the three Italian competitions, sections foreigners rarely make contact with, wisely enough (well, and then there's the language barrier), despite the occasional gem they therefore miss, more often than not courtesy of Gianluca & Massimiliano de Serio - the best thing that happened to Italian cinema since Vincenzo Marra - whose new work, *Rew e Shade* (2006) is again pretty nice, if one knows Italian, otherwise... But there's always a new piece by Mauro Santini, another Torino-darling, a video-poet whose work is more about a certain fluency of images, quicksilver stopped dead

in its tracks, that final tremor rippling the surface, and less about words even if they're haemorrhaged all over the soundscape.

.....

The greatest work of the competition, then, was the only film that found the finest balance between those poles, who knew that, in the end, it's all about telling the truth of and with that which is right there, the world: *Brillante Mendoza's Manoro* (The Teacher, 2006). After *Kalelido* (Summer Heat, 2006), released earlier this year, one thought that Mendoza would go arthouse ordinary, certainly in a superior fashion for

"DESPITE BEING A UNIVERSITY PROJECT, IT'S THE LACK OF ANY POLISH PLUS MENDOZA'S UNPRETENTIOUS SENSE OF PRECISION, TIMING, EVEN METRUM THAT MAKES MANORO SO GREAT"

Kalelido is a fine, perfectly crafted piece of filmmaking, sensitive and alert, but after his extraordinary debut *Masahista* (The Masseur, 2005), a work of earthen spirituality, light and translucent in its form, knowing and of the flesh in its essence, this seemed, well, a bit of a let-down, even a waste. And now this: *Rossellini redux* and raw, nothing less, finally a film that's worth being called civilising. The titling teacher is a teenage Aeta girl, thirteen or something, who'd learned to read and write - in contrast to most middle-aged and elderly people of her village whom she's teaching. In two days, presidential elections are held, with the girl trying to teach everybody the necessary essentials so that they can cast their vote and thereby participate in the democratic process. It's not easy, especially when her father's more interested in meeting with some Koreans over a job which would prevent him from going to the bal-

lot, and her grandfather having gone boar hunting in the mountains and giving a flying fuck about it all, whatever good came from the city, the mestizos?... *Manoro's* main part consists of the girl's and her dad's march up the mountain into the forests looking for grandpa, with the girl stopping once in a while to remind people of their lessons, and father and daughter discussing representative politics. All this done as a re-enactment by the people themselves, folks playing their own life, history for real, shot with the most basic-looking, cine-semantically simplest means by Mendoza, solely the necessary, essence pure and simple - it's something of a shock when in the end the credits show that the film, despite being a university-project, was a full-fledged production with lots of everything, as it looks and feels like some three-maestro-craftsmen-stunt pulled off over a weekend. It's the lack of any polish plus Mendoza's unpretentious sense of precision, timing, even metrum that makes *Manoro* so great: everything fits, feels just, thereby re-enforces the story's sense of political urgency - this is, very much and very insistently, a film about a very basic need, about people learning to read and write to participate in politics.

By chance, the other masterpiece among the festival's new films, *Andrea Tonacci's Serras da Desordem* (2006), also tells a true story about an Indio, the Guaja Carapiru in this case, re-enacting his own life, odyssey towards contact with what's considered civilisation - but that's where the similarities end. Tonacci's work, his first feature film in decades, plays more like a philosophical fable, a tale of civilisation, its workings, told from the point of view of the centre of an evolutionary spiral, where ethnographic recording and shamanistic incantation become one cine-synchretistic whole.

Which, maybe, makes *Serras da Desordem* the perfect metaphor for Torino - or would *Manoro* be the better, more suitable one? - best, probably, are both together, for all that which happens at such contacts, the energy that flows, moves, people's minds, maybe.



Anak ning Kapri HAU backs Kapampangan digital film

Holy Angel University is co-producing a digital movie, *Anak ning Kapri* with a group of UP film students and enthusiasts who

call themselves Kalalangan Kamaru. Set in a small village in Porac, the Kapampangan short film tells how the local folk relate to a child they suspect to have been fathered by a supernatural creature known as kapri.

Center Director Robby Tantingco said the University's support for this film is part of its outreach program. "Digital movies will soon replace the big studio movies. They're easier to make. All it takes is a small group of enthusiasts and a videocam" he said. He added that preserving Kapampangan culture and language on digital film and compact disc is better than on paper.

The short film has been submitted to the Cinemalaya 2007 Short Film category, in hopes of making it to the list of Top Ten Finalists.

Cast includes Joshua Catacutan, Syrel Lopez, Therese Carlos, Bor Ocampo, Randy Macapagal, Janet Toledo, Jimmy Patawaran, Jacq Cheng, Denisse Guiao, Lara Tarranco.

The film, written by Jason Paul Laxamana and Sualading Meangubie, was directed and edited also by Laxamana.

RECENT VISITORS OF THE CENTER



RICARDO PUNO, SR.
Supreme Court Justice



RICARDO 'DONG' PUNO
Former Press Secretary



BRO. ARMIN LUISTRO
President, De La Salle U



JOSE DE VENECIA
Speaker of the House



CECILE GUIDOTE ALVAREZ
Exec. Director, NCCA



FEDERICO A. LAXA
Director, NHA



MARTIN TINIO
Heritage Expert



CHACO G.A. MOLINA
Fundacion Santiago



BELINDA O. CUNANAN
Columnist, PDI



ROBERTO MALLARI
Aux. Bishop of Sn. Fdo.



BEHN CERVANTES
Film and Stage Director



FLORENTINO LAVARIAS
Bishop of Iba, Zambales



LOUIE B. LOCSIN
Wife of Rep. Teddy Locsin



ELLIE CABARRUS
Benguet Consldt Mines



LEO MARTINEZ
Pres., Film Academy



Albina Peczon Fernandez' TEN National Artists grace HAU book launching

Author Dr. Albina Peczon Fernandez helped the University organize the First International Conference on Kapampangan Studies

KAPAMPANGAN LITERATURE IN ENGLISH IS A NEW CLASSIFICATION OF WRITINGS IN ENGLISH USING KAPAMPANGAN EXPERIENCE AS SUBJECT AND PAMPANGA AS SETTING

Dr. Virgilio Almario and Dr. Bienvenido Lumbera, both National Artists for Literature, attended the book launching of Dr. Albina Peczon Fernandez' collection of short stories, held last August at Holy Angel University. The book, entitled *Ten: Coming Home and Nine More Short Stories*, was published by the Center for Kapampangan Studies. It also features pre-

viously unpublished sketches by National Artist for Painting Vicente Manansala, a Kapampangan from Macabebe town.

"Fernandez is an extraordinary writer in English," Dr. Lumbera said in his speech. "She used this foreign language to promote Kapampangan culture, unlike many other writers who tend to abandon their native culture once they acquire facility in English."

The widow of the great writer N.V.M. Gonzalez, Narita Gonzalez, as well as former National Historical Institute chairman Dr. Serafin Quison, attended the launching, so did Dr. Domingo Landicho, Dr. Elmer Ordoñez, Prof. Eufracio Abaya, Dr. Patrick Flores, Prof. Fe Mangahas, poet Rogelio Mangahas, and a busload of professors from UP Diliman. The author's town mates from Mexico, Pampanga also came, including Pampanga board member Johnny Quiambao and the mayor's wife, February Tumang.

University President Dr. Arlyn S. Villanueva thanked Dr. Fernandez for col-



HAU President, Dr. Arlyn Villanueva

laborating with the Center on the book, which she described as a milestone: "Henceforth we shall have Kapampangan Literature in English in the same way we have Philippine Literature in English. It's

a new classification of writings in English using Kapampangan experience as subject matter and Pampanga as setting."

Dr. Fernandez is a known, satirist, feminist, fiction writer and advocate of Kapampangan Studies and Rizal Studies. She is presently a professorial lecturer at the Departamento ng Filipino at Panitikan ng Pilipinas, UP College of Arts and Letters. Prior to her retirement, she was deputy director for research and publication of the UP Center for Women's Studies. It was her decision to tap HAU as host of the 2001 International Conference on Kapampangan Studies that set off a series of events leading to the creation of The Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies.

Last December 18, the book had a second launching at the UP Main Library, with former Senator Helena Benitez as guest of honor.

"With this anthology, Albina Peczon Fernandez reveals yet another facet of her multi-layered persona and joins the ranks of the Philippines' important women writers," Robby Tangingco, Center Director, said.

**WITH THIS ANTHOLOGY,
DR. ALBINA PECZON
FERNANDEZ JOINS THE
RANKS OF THE
PHILIPPINES' IMPORTANT
WOMEN WRITERS**



Prof. Domingo Landicho



Narita Gonzalez, widow of NVM Gonzalez



National Artist Bienvenido Lumbera



National Artist Virgilio Almario



ACCORDING TO THE CRITICS...

"... Pam bihirang manunulat sa Ingles si Fernandez, at karangalan ng Pampanga na siya ay isinilang sa probinsyang ito at biniyayaan ng kakayahang ipalaman sa kanyang mga likha ang kultura ng lipunang Kapampangan. Bagamat siya ay sa wikang Ingles nagsulat nakaiwas siya sa mentalidad ng mga edukadong nang matutong magbasa at magsulat sa wikang dayuhan

ay napahiwalay sa kultura ng rehiyong sinilanagn. Malinaw na talastas ni Fernandez ang lipunang Kapampangan, at kung may bagay-bagay mang kinamumuhian niya rito, ay hindi maitatangi na mahal niya ang probinsyang nagdulot sa kanya ng mayamang paksain para sa kanyang mga akda."

DR. BIENVENIDO LUMBERA
UP Professor Emeritus of Philippine Literature
and National Artist of the Philippines for Literature

"Ang mapanuring pananaw niya ay matalik na nalalangkapan ng isang napakalusog na masayahing diwa kaya humahandog sa atin ang kanyang pamumuna bilang mga piraso ng siste't parikala."

VIRGILIO S. ALMARIO
Dean of the UP College of Arts and Letters
and National Artist of the Philippines for Literature

"The author uses the limited point of view to advantage and the sense that one gets is a sustained view of growth from the 'angle of vision' of a young girl... transformed into a mature albeit cynical adult in the stories. Most of the stories border on the satirical but the author occasionally holds herself and settles now and then for sardonic wit... all these stories are a delight to read."

DR. ELMER A. ORDOÑEZ
Literary Editor of Manila Times Sunday Magazine

"All the stories are well written, but one stands out... 'The Pimple' is a beautiful and powerful story."

PAOLO MANALO
Immediate past Literary Editor of the Philippine Free Press

HAU wins grants from NCCA, Instituto Cervantes

Two leading cultural groups awarded grants to the Center for Kapampangan Studies for its book projects.

The National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) granted two hundred thousand pesos (P200,000.00) as subsidy for the translation of Fray Diego Bergaño's *Vocabulario en la Lengua Pampanga*, the 1732 Kapampangan-Spanish dictionary translated into Kapampangan-English by Fr. Venancio Q. Samson. It will soon be published along with Bergaño's 1729 grammar book, *Arte de la Lengua Pampanga*, translated into English by Fr. Edilberto Santos.

On the other hand, the Executive Committee of the Spanish Program for Cultural Cooperation, based at the Instituto Cervantes, awarded a grant of two hundred thousand pesos (P200,000.00) for the publication of another translation work of the Center, the *Arte y Diccionario Pampango* (1700) of Fray Alvaro de Benavente. This work was transcribed from the original (handwritten) manuscript and then translated into English by Fr. Edilberto Santos.

The program is under Spain's Ministry of Culture.

Center Director Robby Tantingco thanked both the NCCA and the Executive Committee of the Spanish Program for Cultural Cooperation for their support. "While the Center enjoys the full backing of the University, we still need outside funding for our many pending projects," he said.



Rep Aquino, HAU Class '70 donate to the Center



Rep. Aquino p e s o s (P100,000.00) to the University in support of its cultural advocacies and scholarship programs. "Dr. Aquino is a true advocate of heritage conservation," Center Director Robby Tantingco said. "We thank him for this contribution and we hope our other government leaders will support our culture in whatever manner they can."

Meanwhile, the High School Class 1970 of Holy Angel University, who call themselves The Apollos, donated one hundred thousand pesos (P100,000.00) for the fabrication of the brass fitting of the Center's retablo. "We commissioned Jeric Canlas, a pukpuk artist from Mexico town, to do the job for P70,000," Tantingco said. "The remainder will help finance other projects."

National Artist lauds HAU cultural advocacy



National Artist for Literature Virgilio S. Almario called on various regions in the country to preserve and promote their respective cultural heritage as a means of strengthening the nation, citing the Center for Kapampangan Studies as a leading proponent.

Speaking during a tribute given in his honor by the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) and the University of the Philippines Institute of Creative Writing, Almario said that he had asked the NCCA to hold the tribute here in Angeles City instead of his hometown of San Miguel de Mayumu in Bulacan "because I have been impressed by the love and passion that Kapampangans have for their cultural and literary heritage."

The tribute to Almario is part of the national government's celebration of National Arts Month, during which four other National Artists in Literature were also honored in their respective hometowns.

Almario, who is currently the Dean of the College of Arts and Letters in UP Diliman, disclosed that his grandparents were Kapampangan and that San Miguel de Mayumu used to be a part of the greater

Pampanga Province, until it fell under the political jurisdiction of Bulacan when the Spaniards created the new province.

Hailed as the country's foremost poet in Filipino, Almario also edited the groundbreaking *UP Diksiyonaryong Filipino* and wrote dozens of books on poetry and literary criticism. He was conferred the National Artist award in 2001.

In the tribute to him held at Holy Angel University last Wednesday, the Barasoain Kalinangan Foundation, Inc. performed a compilation of his works through dance, music, drama and even painting. Prof. Vim Nadera introduced the honoree.

Almario delivered a lecture entitled "Ang Malungkot sa Malungkuting Filipino," in which he analyzed Filipino writers' and readers' obsession with the tragic and the lachrymose.

HAU WINS 3RD NATIONAL BOOK AWARD



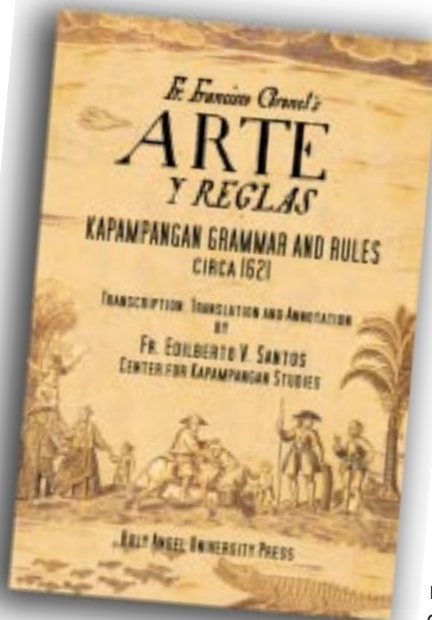
Fr. Edilberto Santos

The Center for Kapampangan Studies won this year's National Book Award (Translation category) for its book *Fray Coronel's Arte y Reglas: Kapampangan Grammar and Rules circa 1621*. It is the Center's third book award in a row from the Manila Critics Circle (MCC), an organization of the nation's top literary critics that hands out the annual awards.

The translator, Fr. Edilberto V. Santos and Erlinda Cruz, who represented Center Director Robby Tangingco, accepted the award in ceremonies held at the Inter-

national Book fair, World Trade Center, Pasay City. Fr. Santos thanked "the Benedictine Community of Manila where I began as a priest, the UST Central Seminary where I finished theology, and Fr. Horacio de la Costa and Fr. John Schumacher, for being strict with me when I was their student."

For her part, Ms. Cruz thanked the MCC for recognizing the efforts of regional publications. She dedicated the award "to the precious few translators who will all soon fade away and there will be no one left to unlock all these treasures from our colonial past."



The Center has previously won two National Book Awards: last year, for *A Cofradia of Two* (biography/autobiography category) and the year before last, for *Gloria: Roman Leoncio's Kapampangan Translation of Huseng Batute's Verse Novel, Lost and Found* (translation category). The Center was also a finalist in the history category in 2002, for *Laying the Foundation: Kapampangan Pioneers in the Philippine Church 1594-2001*.

The National Book Award is the country's highest recognition bestowed on publishers and authors. The Manila Critics

Circle is composed of Ophelia Dimalanta, Juanito Arcellana, Virgilio Almario, Isagani R. Cruz, Fr. Miguel Bernad, SJ, Cirilo Bautista, Resil Mojares, Ruel de Vera, Danton Remoto, Soledad Reyes and Alfred Yuson.

Arte y Reglas is the first of a series of translation projects that the Center has undertaken. This year, three more translated documents are lined up for publication: Fray Diego Bergaño's *Vocabulario en la Lengua Pampanga en Romance* (1732), Bergaño's *Arte de la Lengua Pampanga* (1729) and Fray Alvaro de Benavente's *Arte y Diccionario Pampango* (1700).

According to Center Director Tangingco, the translations will make previously inaccessible documents within reach by more researchers, including students and teachers with little or no understanding of the Spanish language. These

translated books are now wide open for exploration by all the linguists, anthropologists, historians or the plain curious. It's springtime for Kapampangan culture."

Center extends support to various book projects

As part of its outreach program, the Center for Kapampangan Studies gave various forms of assistance to different books written and published by independent authors last year. Among them:

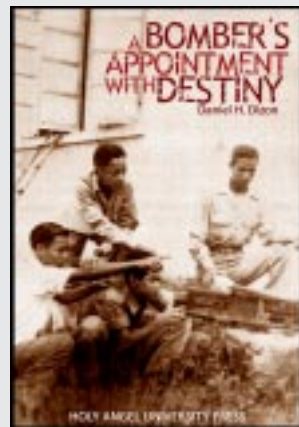
O Indu: *The Complete Story of the Virgen de los Remedios and Her Home in the Parish of Baliti* by Edna Gueco, launched at the parish church of Baliti, City of San Fernando. Book reviewer Fr. Pablo David (now auxiliary bishop of San Fernando) said, "May more miracles like this book follow." The author donated 100 copies to three archdiocesan institutions in the tradition of *lamac*, i.e., sharing of blessings and resources, which was practiced by the devotees of the Virgen de los Remedios in the early days of the *Cruzada ning Pamanisi* at Lugud

(Crusade of Penance and Charity). The other reviewers at the launch were Fr. Raul de los Santos and Nina Tomen.

Lubao: *Cradle of Kapampangan Civilization* by Dr. Rodrigo M. Sicat, with launching program held at the St. Augustine parish church in Lubao. Book reviewer Robby Tangingco hailed the book as a big step in the promotion of local history and called on other Kapampangans to piece together their respective town histories because "the nation's history cannot rely solely on events in Manila" and that "unless all town histories are written, the history of the Philippines is not complete." Guests included Rep. Mikey Arroyo, who said he was "deeply humbled by the fact that the book honors my ancestors," and Lubao town officials led by Mayor

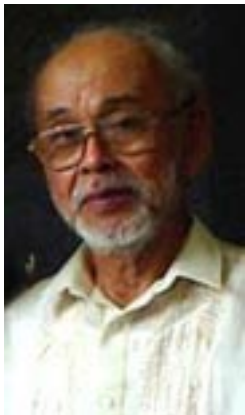
Dennis Pineda.

Ing Bie kung Delanan, Ing Bie kung Balikan, an anthology of original Kapampangan poems by Dr. Teresa Sanchez Tolosa, dermatologist daughter of former San Fernando mayor Virgilio Sanchez, who died a month before the launching. Book reviewer Fray Francis Musni called the book "a welcome impetus to the dying local literature." Rep. Rey Aquino, former Pampanga board member Rosve



Bomber's Appointment with Destiny by Daniel H. Dizon

ABUEVA'S NINOY, FPJ DEATH MASKS ON DISPLAY AT KAPAMPANGAN CENTER



National Artist
Napoleon Abueva

Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino, Jr. and National Artist Fernando Poe, Jr., done by another National Artist, Napoleon Abueva.

"It's quite an honor for the Center to be able to acquire the death masks of two great Filipinos, both opposition leaders whose deaths altered the course of history, and both with Kapampangan blood in them," says Center Director Robby Tantingco. "The fact that the death masks were done by Abueva makes them even more important."

Ninoy Aquino, native of Concepcion, Tarlac, was felled by an assassin's bullet after arriving at the airport in 1983, while Fernando Poe, Jr., whose mother's roots are in Candaba and Lubao, died in 2005 after an unsuccessful but controversial presidential bid.

Abueva used plaster of Paris for the mold of both death masks,

The All Saints Day exhibit at the Center for Kapampangan Studies featured Kapampangan beliefs and practices surrounding death in the family, from prehistoric times to the present. It was conceptualized and executed by museum curator Alex Castro, archivist Fray Francis Musni, OSA and researcher- archaeologist Joel Mallari.

The exhibit featured the death masks of the martyred



FERNANDO POE JR.'S MOTHER HAD A KAPAMPANGAN MOTHER FROM CANDABA WHO PROBABLY SETTLED IN LUBAO WITH AN AMERICAN HUSBAND NAMED EDMUND AUTHER KELLY

done on the eve of their respective interments. He said that the death mask copies acquired by the University are the first and only copies of the originals, which remain in his possession.

Musni says he was able to identify at least 25 Kapampangan euphemisms for saying that the person has died.

"Kapampangans are very creative and imaginative in this," says Musni. "It speaks well of our religiosity and our care for other people's feelings."

Many Kapampangans still practice gosu, which is a kind of Halloween caroling similar to the western trick-or-treat, and bulaklakan, which is a game of riddles done during a wake.

According to Tantingco, Kapampangans traditionally troop to the cemeteries on November 1, which is All Saints' Day and not on November 2, which is All Souls' Day,

because feast days and holy days are always celebrated on the eve or the night before more than on the day itself. "So we pray for the dead on the night before All Souls' Day, in the same way we celebrate All Saints' Day the night before, on October 31, which is Halloween. Halloween is a contraction of All Hallows' Eve, the eve of the feast of hallowed or holy people, or saints."



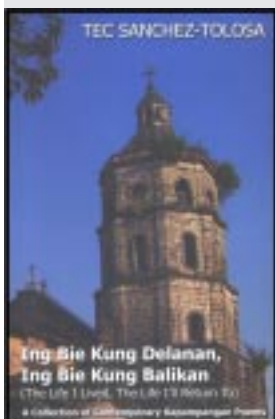
Henson and officers of the poets societies Aguman Buklud Kapampangan and Aguman ding Talasulat Capampangan attended the event which was held at the University of the Assumption.

Porac: A Rancheria at Batiauan 1594-2004 by Edgardo C. Sibug, launched during the Porac town fiesta. In his foreword, Mayor Exequiel Gamboa wrote that the book "aspires to be among the similarly published

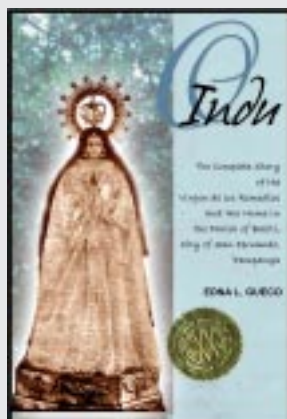
works which have contributed to the enhancement of local history writing, the enrichment of libraries and the illumination of generations."

Meanwhile, the Center published a booklet on the crash of a

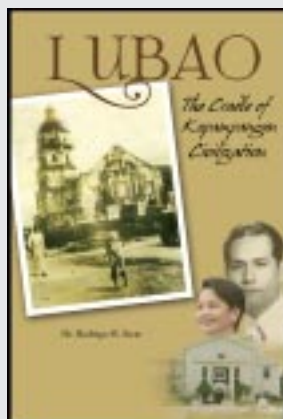
World War II plane that occurred on the University campus. A Bomber's Appointment with Destiny is the eyewitness account of local historian Daniel H. Dizon of the fatal accident involving the American crew of a Mitchell B-25 attack bomber. Interest in the 1945 crash was revived following the excavation of parts of the wreckage.



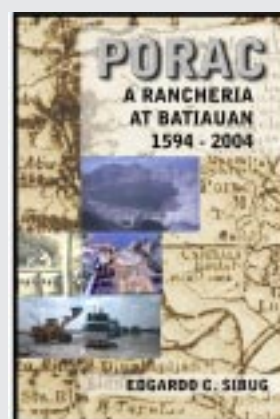
Ing Bie Kung Delanan
by Tec Sanchez-Tolosa



O Indu by Edna L. Gueco



Lubao: Cradle of
Kapampangan Civilization
by Dr. Rodrigo Sicat

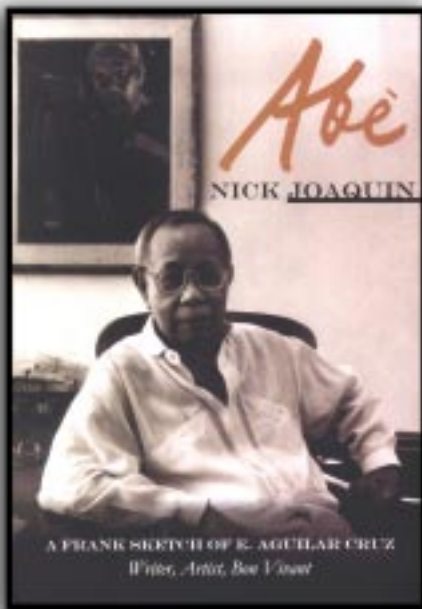


Porac: A Rancheria at
Batiauan by Edgardo C.
Sibug

Emilio Aguilar Cruz bio HAU publishes Nick Joaquin's last book



Piazza of Serendra at the Bonifacio Global City in Taguig, Rizal -- where the book launching was held



Holy Angel University recently pulled off a major literary event when it published the certified last book of the late National Artist for Literature Nick Joaquin, the biography of writer-painter-bon vivant Emilio Aguilar Cruz. The publication was in partnership with Larry Cruz, President of the

LJ C Restaurant Group.

"Putting together in one these two major forces in Philippine art and culture is truly a cause for celebration," University President Dr. Arlyn S. Villanueva said in her welcome remarks at the book's launching.

The book, entitled *Abè: A Frank Sketch*, was launched last December 6 at *Abè* Restaurant in Serendra, an upscale complex at the Bonifacio Global City in Taguig.

"This is the book Nick Joaquin had volunteered to write himself," said Larry Cruz in his speech. "I had asked him to write a short piece for a collection of tributes I was planning to publish, but he insisted to write the whole book." The National Artist, said Cruz, handed to him the finished manuscripts just two months before he died in April 2004. Cruz is the son of the noted diplomat, artist and journalist known by his contemporaries as Abe Cruz.

A native of Magalang, Pampanga, E. Aguilar Cruz wrote *Maynila and Other Explorations*, edited *The Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Times Magazine* and served as Philippine ambassador to the UNESCO in Paris. As art critic, he wrote in 1944 the anti-realism essay *The Autochthonous Tradition*, which ushered in a new era in Philippine

art. When he died in 1991, his ashes were scattered at the foot of Mount Arayat, his favorite subject. Many of his previously unpublished paintings and sketches are featured in the book.

The National Historical Institute (NHI), where he served as member of the board of directors, has honored him with a historical marker at the Magalang municipal park.

The book was launched at the restaurant named after him, *Abe Restaurant*, which serves native cuisine, mostly Kapampangan. Speakers included Gilda Cordero Fernando, Bencab, Armando Doronilla, Ambeth Ocampo, Adrian Cristobal and Krip Yuson. Complimentary copies were awarded to Arni Valdes (representing the Nepomuceno Family), Magalang Mayor Pastor Guiao, Dr. Evangelina Lacson, the National Library, the National Historical Institute and Ms. Belen Cruz, the sister of Abe Cruz. Among the featured performers at the launch were the country's top soprano Rachelle Gerodias, Ballet Philippines and the HAU Chorale. Emcee was former Bb. Pilipinas-Universe Karen Agustin.

Other guests included Italy's Ambassa-



Among the guests at the book launching held at Abe Restaurant in Serendra at the Fort were (left to right, top) Gilda Cordero-Fernando, Adrian Cristobal, Armando Doronilla, Krip Yuson, Francisco Tatad, (bottom) Bencab, Ambeth Ocampo, Claude Tayag, Gemma Cruz Araneta, and host Larry Cruz

dor to the Philippines Rubens Fedele, Rep. Cynthia Villar, Taguig Mayor Freddie Tinga, Carmen Guerrero Nakpil, Gemma Cruz Araneta, former Senator Francisco Tatad, former NCCA chair Evelyn Pantig, CCP President Nestor Jardin, John Silva of the National Museum, Patis Tesoro, Claude Tayag, Yen Makabenta, Kit Roxas, Cecilia Leung, Fred de la Rosa of the Manila Times, Ogie and Maricar Periquet, Nina Halley, newscaster Mike Toledo, Bernie Ople, Nayong Pilipino chief Charito Planas, Richard Merck, Raymond Gutierrez, Monsour del Rosario and HAU administrators.

In his speech, Adrian Cristobal said, "The subjects he chose were subjects that would not shake nations, but for readers and writers, they were masterpieces of acute insight and human observation. I would have loved to be Abe but I didn't have sexual prowess, but in any case he is an example of a writer that does not try to exceed the limits of his talent because what was most important to him was humanity, feelings, emotions and not the sentiments and passions of passing years. Of course this wouldn't have made him a Tacitus but it certainly made him Petrolius, the arbiter eminent. For me, that is better than

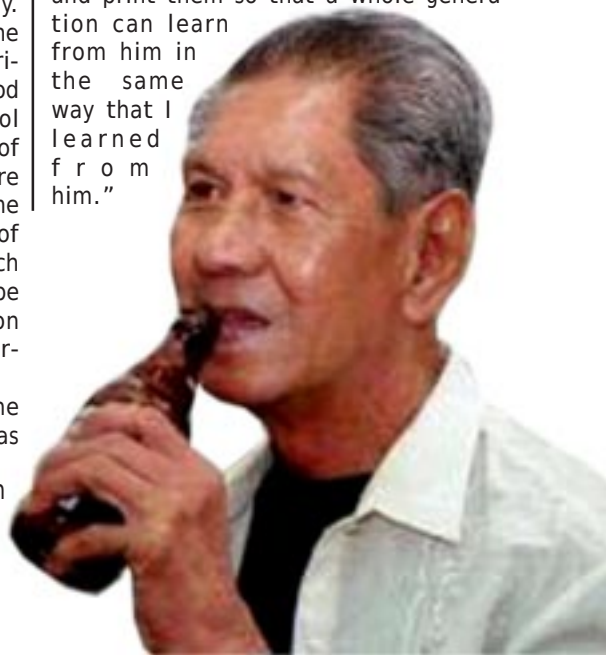
any kind of monument and any kind of accolade. Because to live well is the best revenge."

For her part, Gilda Cordero Fernando recalled the many trips to Chinatown and the countryside that she and Ambeth Ocampo made with Abe, although "I was just an appendage to Ambeth." She said, "Ambeth adopted Abe, not the other way around. I used to say Abe taught him all the bad things, how to eat every hour, to take breakfast or any meal very late because only *piyons* and farmhands ate early. And to believe that medicines can take the place of diets. Abe would line up his varicolored pills on the table, one for high blood (that's for *bulalo*), one for cholesterol (that's for *dinuguan*), one for the heart (of course *lechon*) and one for arthritis (more *lechon*). But he also taught Ambeth and me three precious things: about the history of foods, about mores and morals (not so much the latter) and to grab the moment—*Carpe diem!*—which simply meant, 'Gorge on *talangka* fat as if there were no tomorrow!'"

Ambeth Ocampo revealed that one reason the book was finished early was

that he lent Nick Joaquin a box of cassette tapes containing Alfred Navarro Salanga's interviews with Abe Cruz. "I hope one day Larry will also publish these interviews from the proceeds of this book so that we can hear what Abe said about himself rather than what Nick Joaquin said about Abe. There's another project I wish we could finish before this generation forgets this man. Larry has actually collected Abe's writings from the pre-war period and I have offered time and again to edit these and print them so that a whole generation can learn from him in the same way that I learned from him."

National Artist Nick Joaquin



Emilio Aguilar Cruz was fondly called “Abe” by a large circle of friends and colleagues, but I addressed him always in the old-fashioned Kapampangan style as Cong Milyo. His varied life spanned three quarters of the 20th century. Because he was a man of many parts, it is difficult to say what he meant to so many of us who were closely associated with him and to document many of his accomplishments.

I am not a bit surprised if many of those who knew Cong Milyo in many ways could recount countless anecdotes about him. On the occasion of his 91st birthday, I shall limit myself to some reminiscences of him in the National Historical Commission and UNESCO days where I knew him best. And if space still permits, my remembrance of him as a delightful eating companion as well as his other outstanding facets as a rare Kapampangan will suffice. All who knew him well have recognized his zest for good life, his encyclopedic knowledge, his knack for languages, his sharp critical eye, his high standards of accuracy, his broadly based humanism, his spring of witty remarks punctuated by a fine sense of humor, his facile literary style, his keen editorial judgment, his compassionate concern for the poor and the weak, his deeply rooted Quezonian social justice, his accessibility to young Filipinos in search of knowledge and guidance, his astonishing work habits, his adeptness as a player in the casinos here and abroad, and above all, his superb spirit with which he lived the life of the mind.

All of these enduring hallmarks and qualities were embedded behind a modest mien of a rare breed of Kapampangan that he was.



Dr. Serafin Quiason

My early acquaintance with him goes back to the days when he was still with the Times. He was a frequent guest of my late uncle Don Jose Lao Yap in Angeles in the province of Pampanga. Years went by and our paths crossed once more. Our close relationship this time was forged when he became a Board member of the National Historical Commission (1967-1981) where we found a common bond in our interests for history and culture. He knew the importance of these two branches of human knowledge and real value of languages that enabled him to draw upon them for his own well-crafted and meaty essays both scholarly and popular.

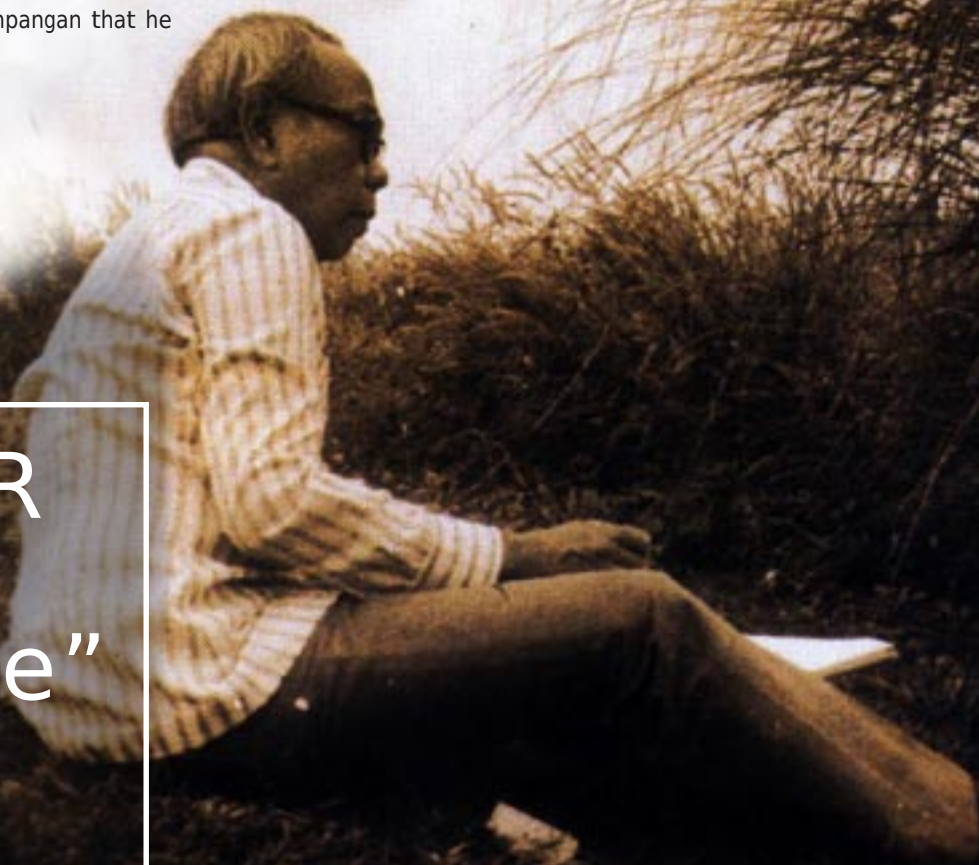
At the National Historical Commission, I was privileged to be in the company of foremost scholars and writers—Fr. Horacio de la Costa, S.J., Prof. Teodoro A. Agoncillo, Chairperson Carmen Guerrero Nakpil, Emilio Aguilar Cruz, Dr. Domingo C. Abella and Director Godofredo Alcasid of the National Museum. A

little later, Prof. Esteban Ocampo joined us. Every board meeting was always charged with a heavy dose of erudition and spiced with frequent outburst of indescribable mirth because we had in our midst a ‘ubiquitous jester,’ to use the term of Cong Milyo. Combining his unerring sense of tact, considerateness and taste with wu wei or quiet effectiveness in his inter-personal relationships, he played a distinctive role in the life of the institution while assiduously fostering historical awareness in our national community.

Translation is a high form of scholarship. It is in the field of

E. AGUILAR CRUZ: A Rara “Abe”

By
Serafin D. Quiason
Former Chairman
National Historical Institute



translation where he left a profound mark in the world of Philippine historiography. His translations from original French into English include Paul Gironiere's *Journey to Majayjay*, 1893; J. de Man's *Recollections of a Voyage to the Philippines*, 1894; *The War in the Philippines as Reported in 1899 by Two French Journalists*, 1986; Duc D' Alencon's *Luzon and Mindanao*, 1896; Andre Bellssort *One Week in the Philippines*, 1897. He received praise from no less than historian John Larkin of the University of New York in Buffalo who reviewed the five French works in the *Journal of Asian Studies*. Professor Larkin has this to say: Emilio Aguilar Cruz's translations are "smooth, fluid, accurate and quite reliable..." as well as "insightful and elegant in prose." Cong Milyo was really at home with both English and French that he could use them with unusual ease and in a mellifluous way.

Gifted in languages, his mastery of French was amazing. He studied it on his own and developed in due time a special fondness for French culture. In Paris, I had the good fortune, as a member of the Philippine delegation to the General Assemblies of UNESCO, to be with him. He was the permanent Philippine delegate to the UNESCO (1978-1981) with the rank of Ambassador. His astonishing proficiency in French was ably demonstrated in his conversations with the foreign delegates and staff of UNESCO, owners and waiters of famous restaurants and starred coffee shops like Café de Flore—a favorite hangout of Albert Camus and Ernest Hemingway—and La Rotonde, bookshop sellers at Brentano's and La Hune and taxi drivers. No Filipino knew the best Parisian cafés and restaurants better than he did. One time, he took me for a leisurely walk to the apartment buildings where Juan Luna and Jose Rizal stayed, and showed me the fabulous Ritz Hotel and the Musée de l'Homme. On other occasions, he brought me to Crazy Horse and entertained me and other Filipino friends at several expensive and ancient-looking establishments in Montmartre, La Place de Vosges and Champs Elysées.

Cong Milyo traveled widely in Europe, America and Southeast Asia. Everytime he came home, he brought a memento for me. On one occasion, he gifted me an old set of Edward Gibbon's *Decline and*



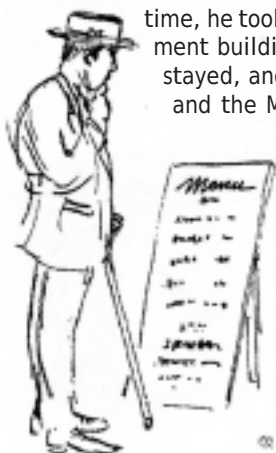
Quiason was fascinated with Abe's painting routine "which was grueling and intense"

Fall of the Roman Empire. When I inquired where he got the three-volume work in gilded and classical binding, he told me that he had bought them on the sidewalk of the Left Bank. He was overly generous with sharing his books, artworks and even his costly signature personal belongings—a clear proof that he was impeccably dressed.

In his fifties, he furthered his boyhood interest in painting. I often dropped by at his apartment at Menlo and later at his townhouse at Ecoville and became fascinated by his painting routine which was grueling and intense. Mind you, I am a grateful recipient of a few pieces of his impressionistic artworks, mostly Freudian in imagery. I highly prize his portrait of mine done in watercolor which he painted one Saturday afternoon in the late 80s at our Antipolo house.

Cong Milyo's perfectionism was extended to food and wines and even to the young models for his painting sessions. As a veritable gourmet and connoisseur of wines, he knew no strict diet. He used to tell me that his battery of pills could easily correct any ailment resulting from immoderate indulgence in fine and delicious food, especially Kapampangan cuisine. I recall also that he was the one who introduced me to the Moroccan national dish—cous cous. In Metro Manila, he would take me along to dine at several hole-in-the-wall types of cafeterias in the heart of Ongpin, in the hard-to-describe carinderia at the back of the Seaside Fish Market in Pasay, in Everybody's in San Fernando, and in the Bahay Kubo stalls in Tanay and Binangonan. He always made it a point to turn down any offer to either pay our bills in full or share them a la Western style. He always pulled my leg whenever he saw me avoiding camaro (adobong mole cricket), duron (locust), igat (eel). "You are the only Kapampangan I know," he exclaimed in jest in our colorful native tongue, "who does not eat these delicious creatures fresh from the rice fields of Candaba and ponds of Sasmuan!" In Singapore, he, together with M. Rajaretnam, Director of the Resource Centre, and me, went the whole day long on a restaurant-hopping—well-known eating places like Swee Kee, Mutho's and Newton Circus.

Time expended with him passed by too fast because he was an accomplished raconteur and a congenial conversationalist. Out of a long dialogue with him, one would emerge filled with new



knowledge and additional information.

On the night of August 12, 1985, I remember quite well, Cong Katoks Tayag, a Board member of the Philippine National bank, Cong Milyo and I took our dinner at Café Adriatico. Both Cong Katoks and Cong Milyo enjoyed immensely a huge platter of ox tail that very ominous evening. Neither Cong Milyo nor I had any inkling that it was Cong Katoks' last dinner with us, for the following morning, the sad news of his sudden death came too hard to believe. Cong Katoks was about to play tennis when he succumbed to a massive coronary thrombosis.

Without a formal education beyond elementary schooling and one year at the School of Fine Arts of the University of the Philippines (1930-1931), he was a constant reminder that scholarship and learning do not require a college degree, even a Ph.D.

His exposure to American Thomasite teachers in San Fernando, Pampanga opened up for him a wide range of new, stimulating and fresh knowledge. His colonial education had shaped and finely honed his American brand of English which he applied in later years in good stead in his lucid and pleasing literary works. He was a voracious reader with a phenomenal memory.

His life was a model in the art of living with a quiet grace, style and dignity. He was a man who lived in his synthesized Filipino and Western values and who sought only to help and give. He was a man with many true friends and liked their company. His townhouse was a mecca for them. As a kind, wise and patient person, he always made time for young people seeking out his private advice, despite his own busy schedule. His insatiable curiosity combined with a persistent desire to comprehend human nature led to his becoming a keen observer of human behavior and character. He had no patience with hambug and dubious characters, and as such, with a rapier-sharp wit, he was capable of sarcasm and of making ironic remarks which he expressed well in archaic Kapampangan. He was quick in repartee.

THE SPRINKLING OF HIS ASHES IN THE UNDULATING TERRAIN OF MOUNT ARAYAT AND MAGALANG'S GREEN FOLIAGE WAS A POIGNANT MOMENT SIGNIFYING THE UNION OF HIS GENTLE SOUL WITH HIS MAKER AND ETERNITY.



In his mature years, Cong Milyo's ardent love of art, decoration and passion for classical music led him to fill his apartment at Menlo and later at Ecoville with as many pieces of Filipino objets d'art and classical records as possible. At his Ecoville townhouse, he projected an image of tireless writer or painter, comforted by a rich collection of Filipiniana items, a set of antique-looking pens, notebooks, assorted paint brushes, an age-old easel and an array of Grumbacher tubes, and was completely satisfied in his daily routine.

Cong Milyo was not a religious practitioner, but he approached matters pertaining to faith with a sense of empathy. When he passed away at the Makati Medical Center on December 19, 1991 at the age of 76, I, too, deeply mourned the loss of a kind-hearted, cultured, elderly, revered friend and in all probability a relative of mine on his maternal side. Throughout his life, he had never forgotten his ancestral roots and retained always an abiding affinity for his native town of Magalang, where he was born on June 5, 1915. The sprinkling of his ashes in the undulating terrain of Mount Arayat and Magalang's green foliage was a poignant moment signifying the union of his gentle soul with His Maker and eternity.

To Cong Milyo—the last of the rare breed of great Kapampangans of his generation—requiescat in pace.





Ing Managpe Country's oldest zarzuela revived

The Center for Kapampangan Studies restaged *Ing Managpe* on several occasions recently. The first was held last May at the Plaza San Jose (HAU Main Building Quadrangle), as part of the national observance of Heritage Month. It was co-sponsored by the Filipino Heritage Festival, Inc. Festival Director Anna Maria "Bambi" Harper attended the affair.

The second restaging was done on August 11 and 12 at the HAU Immaculate Heart Gymnasium. It was co-sponsored by the University's various college student councils and high school department.

The Kapampangan zarzuela written by Mariano Proceso Pabalan Byron of Bacolor, Pampanga was the first zarzuela ever written in any Philippine language. It is older than Severino Reyes' *Walang Sugat* and Crisostomo Soto's *Alang Dios*, the best known Tagalog and Kapampangan zarzuelas, respectively.

The play was written in 1899 and was first staged at the Sabina Theatre in Bacolor on September 13, 1900. Its original music, composed by Amado Gutierrez David and first published by Cornelio Pabalan Byron on May 19, 1909, has been reconstructed for this revival production by Stan Palma, a scion of the popular Palma clan of Bacolor.

Ing Managpe revolutionized Philippine theatre at the turn of the century by introducing the theme of Filipino family and using drab domestic setting, instead of the usual European pomp and pageantry of colonial zarzuelas. The play's plot revolves around the domestic quarrel between Doña Juana and Don Diego; a subplot involves their maid and househelps. The title, which means "The Patcher," refers literally to the name of a dog and figuratively to the character who patches the feud.

The HAU production was directed by Peter Joseph Nepomuceno and Michael Manabat; its cast was composed of HAU students Remejia Lacson (Doña Juana), John Ocampo and Moreno Reambillo (Don Diego), Rona Reyes (Sianang), Roillingel Calilung (Fermin), and Daniel Maglambayan (Pablo). Their faculty adviser was Erlinda Cruz.



Ms. Bambi Harper, Director of the Filipino Heritage Festival, congratulates cast and crew of the Holy Angel University revival of the Kapampangan zarzuela *Ing Managpe* in May 2006 at the Plaza San Jose. It was restaged in August 2006 at the University Gymnasium.





THE MAGICAL, MYSTICAL SUKU OF MOUNT ARAYAT

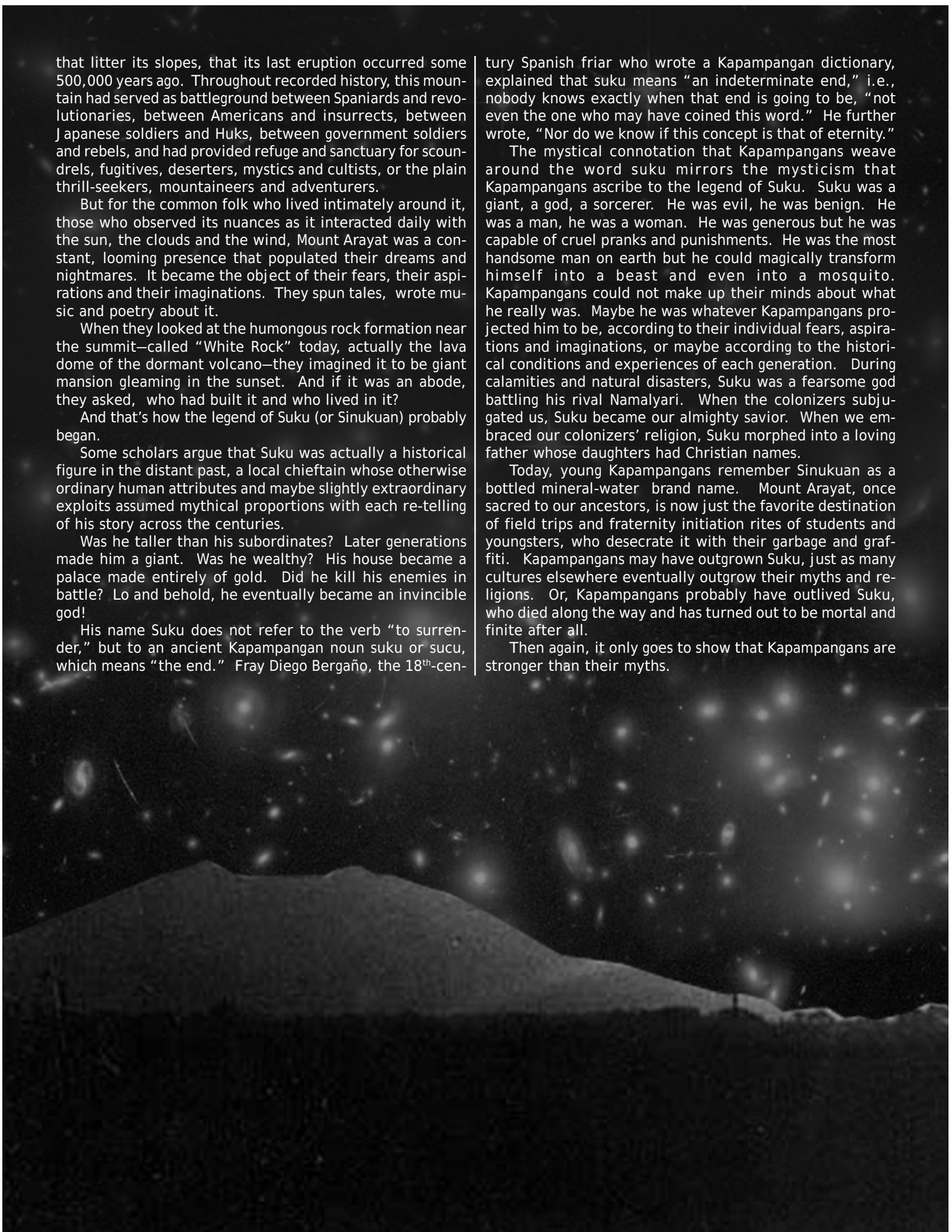
WAS SUKU A HISTORICAL FIGURE WHO
MERELY ASSUMED MYTHICAL PROPORTIONS
WITH THE RE-TELLING OF HIS STORY
IN EACH PASSING GENERATION?

By Robby Tangingco

Mountains have always aroused the imagination of men and inspired legend, poetry and faith. If great civilizations were born near rivers, great religions were conceived on mountaintops. Every culture on this planet has its own Mount Sinai, and if it doesn't, it creates pyramids to simulate mountains.

When our ancestors sailed in from the sea, they were probably drawn to Mount Arayat, which was visible from Manila Bay. That's how they found their sacred river, which led them to their sacred mountain.

Fray Martin de Zuñiga theorized that this solitary conical mountain in the middle of a vast flatland had been formed by a giant whirlpool at the beginning of time. Archaeologists calculate, by studying the volcanic rocks



that litter its slopes, that its last eruption occurred some 500,000 years ago. Throughout recorded history, this mountain had served as battleground between Spaniards and revolutionaries, between Americans and insurgents, between Japanese soldiers and Huks, between government soldiers and rebels, and had provided refuge and sanctuary for scoundrels, fugitives, deserters, mystics and cultists, or the plain thrill-seekers, mountaineers and adventurers.

But for the common folk who lived intimately around it, those who observed its nuances as it interacted daily with the sun, the clouds and the wind, Mount Arayat was a constant, looming presence that populated their dreams and nightmares. It became the object of their fears, their aspirations and their imaginations. They spun tales, wrote music and poetry about it.

When they looked at the humongous rock formation near the summit—called “White Rock” today, actually the lava dome of the dormant volcano—they imagined it to be giant mansion gleaming in the sunset. And if it was an abode, they asked, who had built it and who lived in it?

And that’s how the legend of Suku (or Sinukuan) probably began.

Some scholars argue that Suku was actually a historical figure in the distant past, a local chieftain whose otherwise ordinary human attributes and maybe slightly extraordinary exploits assumed mythical proportions with each re-telling of his story across the centuries.

Was he taller than his subordinates? Later generations made him a giant. Was he wealthy? His house became a palace made entirely of gold. Did he kill his enemies in battle? Lo and behold, he eventually became an invincible god!

His name Suku does not refer to the verb “to surrender,” but to an ancient Kapampangan noun suku or sucu, which means “the end.” Fray Diego Bergaño, the 18th-cen-

tury Spanish friar who wrote a Kapampangan dictionary, explained that suku means “an indeterminate end,” i.e., nobody knows exactly when that end is going to be, “not even the one who may have coined this word.” He further wrote, “Nor do we know if this concept is that of eternity.”

The mystical connotation that Kapampangans weave around the word suku mirrors the mysticism that Kapampangans ascribe to the legend of Suku. Suku was a giant, a god, a sorcerer. He was evil, he was benign. He was a man, he was a woman. He was generous but he was capable of cruel pranks and punishments. He was the most handsome man on earth but he could magically transform himself into a beast and even into a mosquito. Kapampangans could not make up their minds about what he really was. Maybe he was whatever Kapampangans projected him to be, according to their individual fears, aspirations and imaginations, or maybe according to the historical conditions and experiences of each generation. During calamities and natural disasters, Suku was a fearsome god battling his rival Namalyari. When the colonizers subjugated us, Suku became our almighty savior. When we embraced our colonizers’ religion, Suku morphed into a loving father whose daughters had Christian names.

Today, young Kapampangans remember Sinukuan as a bottled mineral-water brand name. Mount Arayat, once sacred to our ancestors, is now just the favorite destination of field trips and fraternity initiation rites of students and youngsters, who desecrate it with their garbage and graffiti. Kapampangans may have outgrown Suku, just as many cultures elsewhere eventually outgrow their myths and religions. Or, Kapampangans probably have outlived Suku, who died along the way and has turned out to be mortal and finite after all.

Then again, it only goes to show that Kapampangans are stronger than their myths.



SINUKUAN'S SUPERNATURAL POWERS

HE COULD MASQUERADE AS A MOSQUITO, TRANSFORM PEOPLE INTO PIGS, CAUSE AN EARTHQUAKE AND WHIP UP A STORM

Following are excerpts from H. Otley Beyer's collection of legends from his Kapampangan students at UP, circa early 1900s. Discrepancies are a result of the differences in place of origin and background:

"Sinucuan at this time transformed himself into a mosquito to hear what they were conversing. (In transforming into a mosquito, he asked the help of the witches of the mountain.) On hearing the acceptance of his daughter, he became mad. He transformed the man into a pig. He then created another pig (female) and put both pigs in a secluded cave. They suddenly increased. Some of them were freed from the cave and came down to the plain. This was the belief of the ancients on how pigs existed in Pampanga." (Teodulo D. Franco, *The Story of Sinucuan in Pampanga*, 1916)

"Furthermore he wanted to punish the people in the plain severely so that they would not come to his palace. Because of his power to control the winds, he raised a disastrous storm which destroyed practically all that the people of the plain had—crops, houses, trees, etc. Besides, the storm killed many people because of lack of food and shelter. It was said that the storm lasted for about one week. After the storm, he caused an earthquake, which caused the rising of the land which resulted in the formation of more mountains and many hills. Among the mountains formed by the earthquake were those in Floridablanca and Guagua. The mountains prevented people from communicating with one another. Hence we have different dialects, different feelings (for before,

the Pampangans hated the Tagalogs) and different customs." (Teodulo D. Franco, *The Story of Sinucuan in Pampanga*, 1916)

"After the witches were defeated by Sinucuan, he transformed them into different forms. Some of them had wings which we now call asuang, who were supposed to live on human body. Others had only the lower part of the body which were called magcucutud—that is, they had the power to cut their body into two parts. Still others were the magcuculam, who had the power to make sick the people in the plain. And still others were the duendes who were as tall as the bamboos. They were like giants who just swallowed any living person." (Teodulo D. Franco, *The Story of Sinucuan in Pampanga*, 1916)

HOW THE CANDABA SWAMP WAS FORMED

IRKED BY INDISCRIMINATE DEFORESTATION, THE GIANT LIFTED MOUNT ARAYAT AND CARRIED IT ON HIS SHOULDERS, LEAVING BEHIND A SWAMP

"It was the chief rumor and belief in our town, San Fernando, in the province of Pampanga, that in former times, Mount Arayat was placed in the immense plains of Candaba. During that time the people of this place built their houses out of the materials taken from this mountain. Large and strong timbers were especially secured from the trees growing on this mountain. In this mountain there lived a very big giant by the name of Cargon Cargon who takes care of the mountain. The successive cutting of timbers gave great offence to this giant; so having possessed the superhuman power, one night he carried his mountain on his back to another place. The next morning the people of Candaba were surprised of having lost from their sight the beautiful mountain which once stood in their town. The spot where the mountain had stood was changed into a swampy place which is now known by the name of Pinac de Candaba. In like manner the people of Arayat where the mountain now stands were very much amazed when they saw the mountain in their town." (Dominador G. David, *Pampangan Folklore Stories*, 1917)

"Formerly, the mountain was located at Tapang, Nueva Ecija, but the natives' greed and desire for gold and the consequent determination to acquire the mine incurred the hatred of Sucu who immediately removed it to San Miguel, Bulacan. Here, he remained only one night for after quarrelling with his wife, he shouldered the monstrous mountain and with two steps reached Arayat, a very swampy place, and planted it there. The water of the swamp was driven away and flooded Candaba, the neighboring town, which has remained a marshy site up to this time. This peculiar attitude of Sinucuan with regard to the gold mine of his dwelling-place is better towards foreigners. For instance, when the English came to the islands, two Englishmen were supposed to have established mining projects near the mountain but when they touched the gold mine of the fairy, they were enchanted." (Manuel Carreon, *Pampangan Legends*, 1917)



SUKU'S FANTASTICAL TRANSFIGURATIONS

FAIRY, ENCHANTRESS, GIANT OR HUMAN? MAN OR WOMAN? HANDSOME OR HIDEOUS? THE VERSIONS OF THE STORY ARE CONTRADICTORY

The early accounts in H. Otley Beyer's collection are confused, which means either that the students who collected the tales had misheard or misquoted the folks they interviewed, or that by the early 1900s, the tale of Sinukuan had already been adulterated or forgotten so much that the original story may have been lost. It is a challenge to researchers to trace the basic narrative thread so that the original, basic story can be reconstructed.

"Sinucuan was a very fine fellow with arms and sinews as iron. He was said to resemble Cupid because of his beautiful face. From his youth he developed a good custom and an admirable character. He was a quick thinker. He was so far unexcelled by anybody in this island of Luzon. He devoted his time in the woods hunting." (Teodulo D. Franco, *The Story of Sinucuan in Pampanga*, 1916)

"He was formerly a handsome youth but upon marrying a mortal he was transformed

into his present ugly, hideous form." (Manuel L. Carreon, *Pampangan Legends*, 1917)

"An enchantress who was known by the name of Sinucuan dwelled in her gorgeous palace inside the mountain. This palace was said to be decorated so richly with rubies, diamonds and other precious stones that no human eye could look at it for a long time." (Justo Arrastia, *The Legend of Mount Arayat*, 1915)

"Minga, the father to three beautiful daughters, and whose wife was called Sinucuan and nicknamed Sucu..." (Macario G. Naval, *A Collection of Legends from Pampanga*, 1916)

"The people of the town loved Sinucuan for he always showed kindness to them. Peace was everywhere and the people were



very happy." (Cipriano de los Reyes, *The Three Daughters of Sinucuan*, 1915)

"People believe Sinucuan is still living in the Arayat Mountain. For this reason Arayat is often called the mountain of Sinucuan and the baño in that place is the bathing place of Sinucuan. Sick people would go to the baño and take a bath. According to reports, those who take a bath there are freed from sickness. Just see the influence of Sinucuan there. Because of all of his performances, Sinucuan is now called the 'Father of the Pampangans.'" (Teodulo D. Franco, *The Story of Sinucuan in Pampanga*, 1916)

"Suku had two daughters but one of them died from sickness. The remaining daughter was always sad. Her mother gave her everything yet she was not happy. This mother could do whatever she wanted except to bring the dead to life. One day she thought of giving her daughter a friend so as to drive that sadness from her. She took her daughter to the town and told her to select one of the ladies." (Leon Ma. Gonzales, Sinukuan [A Flokllore Story], 1915, translated by Alfredo Nicdao in 1918)

"The people need not work hard to get a living for the soil is very fertile and the mountain abounds in fruits and games. But the industry in which the people were mostly engaged was darac or tikitiki. This is due to the fact that every Sunday morning, the three daughters of

Sinukuan, the King of Mount Arayat, went to the town market to buy darac for their swines. But the three sisters were always in disguise whenever they went down to town in order not to attract the attention of the town people. The daughters of Sinukuan exchanged the darac with gold twice or thrice its value, so many merchants soon became well-to-do. (Cipriano

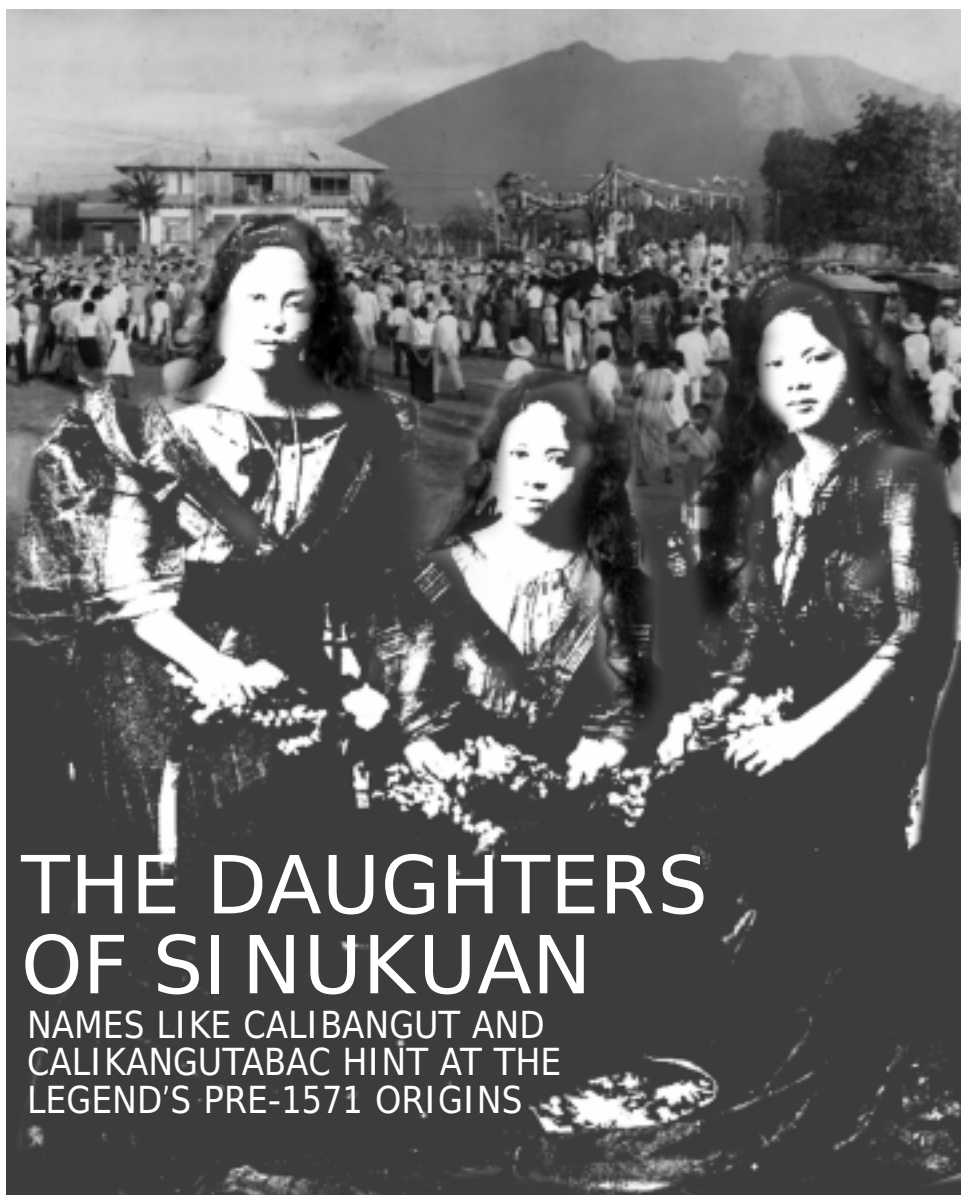
de los Reyes, The Three Daughters of Sinukuan, 1915)

"Sinucuan was said to have a beautiful and lovely wife and two daughters. The name of his wife was Marianusep de Sinucuan. The name of the older daughter was Calibangut and the younger one, Calikangutabac. The older one was tall and

ride in their nice vehicle around the town. Sometimes they would come to the market and bartered their pieces of gold with some articles. After their frequent visits to the town they made several friends among the young women of the town." (Dominador G. David, Pampangan Folklore Stories, 1917)

had a dark-brown complexion. The younger was of medium size and very beautiful. The older one was jealous and tricky while the younger daughter was calm, joyous and handsome. As his daughters grew into womanhood he, with the help of the witches, created a large and spacious cave inside the Arayat Mountain. Inside the cave he built a large palace..." (Teodulo D. Franco, The Story of Sinucuan in Pampanga, 1916)

"From his wife he had three beautiful daughters with whom he lived quietly in his splendid golden palace. The habit of these ladies was to descend from their magnificent home every Sunday and take a



THE DAUGHTERS OF SINUKUAN

NAMES LIKE CALIBANGUT AND CALIKANGUTABAC HINT AT THE LEGEND'S PRE-1571 ORIGINS

THE ASCENDANTS OF SINUKUAN

HIS MOTHER WAS CALUPIT; HIS FATHER'S NAME WAS MAGTUNGCU, SOMETIMES CARGON CARGON

"In this mountain there lived a very big giant by the name of Cargon Cargon who took care of the mountain. The successive cutting of timbers gave great offence to this giant... so one night he carried his mountain on his back... Later he received a decisive challenge from another giant who lived in Zambales mountains. Cargon accepted the challenge and they fought by throwing big stones to each other. After the fight the enemy of Cargon was killed but Cargon was also mortally wounded.... A few months later Cargon died and his son named Suku inherited the moun-

tain." (Dominador G. David, Pampangan Folklore Stories, 1917)

"It happened that the offspring of Adam and Eve resided in Asia. By the multiplication of these new ones, Magtungcu and Calupit went to the island of Luzon in the Philippines. Because of their adventurous spirit, they reached the mountain of Arayat in Pampanga. This mountain was said to possess many magics, long time ago. Their first-born son was Sinucuan." (Teodulo Franco, The Story of Sinucuan in Pampanga, 1916)



EL FABULOSO SUKU (The Mythical Suku)

By Don Pedro Serrano

FROM VOLUME II OF DON ISABELO DE LOS REYES' ANTHOLOGY

EL FOLKLORE FILIPINO

PUBLISHED IN 1889

SPANISH ORIGINAL TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY FR. EDILBERTO V. SANTOS

CENTER FOR KAPAMPANGAN STUDIES

I
As I sat on a pilapil of a ricefield, enjoying the gentle breeze of one December morning, near a sugar cane plantation, which was the favorite palace of the patianak (imp), I was contemplating the majestic beauty of that vast panorama, in whose center stood out alone Mount Sinukuan of Arayat, like a watchtower guarding those areas. I was, at the same time, carrying on a pleasant and friendly conversation with an old man, an octogenarian, as he was usually called, a man who was about to complete the December of his life and who was there to watch his children and grandchildren work in a nearby ranch. Among the topics we talked about were the stories told by old folks about that unique mountain well known for the limpidity which on that particular morning was evident on the summit and on the slopes. It was a sign of a fair weather, according to my interlocutor, who also said that when the summit was covered with clouds, it was a sign of rain in that province, and that when the summit and the slopes were covered with heavy clouds, it was a sign of the coming of continuous everyday rains.

He says he learned all this and other things when he was a boy from an old man who, according to the legend, was the only one who managed to penetrate even the farthest corners of that big mountain, because he was a friend of the sorcerer Suku (the Invincible), who resided there. But anybody else who dared to step on the peak would be immediately punished with malignant and incurable diseases.

That mountain was at first just an insignificant hill, surrounded by high mountains. When Suku grew old, he separated from his wife Mingan (another diva of high importance who resides in another mountain, which bears her name), and he chose that hill to be his dwelling. From then on, what used to be an insignificant hill gradually grew by some enchantment, into a mountain. The neighboring mountains moved away from it, as a sign of submission, while it kept rising higher and higher- amazing power!- until at last it was left all by itself, as it is at present, and so they called it Sinukuan, that is, respected or winner/victor.

When the sorcerer Suku transferred there, he brought along his three daughters named Rosalina, Rosa-Minda and Doña Maria, and left behind with his wife the men, whose number, social status and names are not known.

This is all what is known of the past of that being. As to how and when he was born (although people suspect that he was not the son of his mother), or as to whether he came out feet first or head first, or as to how and where he grew up,



etc., etc., tradition covered all this with the blanket of silence or the friend of Suku must have hidden the details from this old man I am talking with.

The story says that, a long long time ago, after Sinukuan was left alone in that vast area by virtue of the magical power of its new occupant, his daughters often took a walk separately, reaching up to the neighboring towns, developing friendship with the beautiful maidens (they did not like the ugly ones) whom they met along the way to invite them to the palace. The first attempt resulted in a problematic situation, because unknown to the one who invited, the would-be visitor carried a rosary under her inner garment as was the custom then, according to old folks. When the daughter of Suku found this out, when the two of them reached the middle of the mountain, she asked her to throw that object away because it had no use for her. When the young would-be visitor did not like to do so in spite of the other's insistence, and because of which the daughter of Suku found it impossible to go near her, she suddenly disappeared, and the girl with the rosary found herself surrounded by total darkness.

She was found in that site, it is not known how many days later, by some hunters who had by coincidence reached it while chasing a prey and who fortunately were friends of the family of the girl. And so, from this incident, the people of that area developed a habit of carrying the rosary which, if we have to believe the reports, delivered so many people from troubles of this kind. The people of that area soon came to know about the unequalled beauty of those sinukuenses due to the detailed description given by the girl who had been enchanted. This excited the curiosity of many young men and gave them the urge to carry an affair with those mysterious women of that mountain. Since they had no chance to see them around, they decided to look for them in their dwellings.

But when the foolhardy young men reached two-thirds of the height, they forgot the reason for their walk because they were distracted by the beauty of the various kinds so many fruits which, according to these young men themselves, would what the appetite of whoever saw them even if his stomach was dead. There was a formula which was generally accepted and generally used by people who approached that area in order not to incur the anger of Suku. Before touching anything in that mountain, they said Apo dinan mo ku pu, ke pung mangan karening tanaman mo, which means " Lord or grandfather, please give me this which I want to eat from your fruit trees." But our excursionists, who were by the way students; were either distracted or they did not believe in that formula, and so each one got whatever he wanted except one who still had his goal in mind and kept moving towards the summit.

But when this daring young man suddenly realized that he was alone in the place from where he could hear the shrieks of his alarmed companions, whose throats had begun swelling for having disrespectfully eaten the fruits without pronouncing the common formula of asking permission, he suddenly found himself near a forest of trees that were so tall they were touching the sky. He got scared (even if he was considered to be very brave by nature) and he stammered out a few words of submission, which delivered him from that situation and made it possible for him to join his companions, whom he found to be horribly disfigured. They agreed unanimously to go back, but hardly had they started walk-

ing when dark clouds formed above, lightnings that could almost blind crossed the sky, deafening thunders roared in every direction.

Given that emergency, the smartest among them, the one who had found himself not as brave as he had believed he was, searched every one and found out that some of them kept in their pockets fruits taken from that place. He urged all of them, for life's sake, to leave behind everything that they carried so that they would not all perish. They did that and, immediately, the weather became normal. They found the path and were able to go back to their houses, but with downcast eyes and humbled.

Be very careful. You might just be simply looking at someone beautiful and you are already bumping against one of the sinukenses!

Above all, when you are caught by a storm in a deserted spot, remember these cases, drop down right away what you are carrying, and if it is metallic or quasi-metallic, hand it carefully to this feature writer. That way, you will find yourselves delivered from any mishap and, specifically, from thunders.

II

According to the legend, Suku's characteristic generosity and his desire to gain the admiration of the entire area made him decide to grant a special favour to one of the towns of that province, a town which up to then had been the least fortunate. He intended to demonstrate thereby the importance of gaining his favour.

For this purpose, he chose Candaba, within whose territory it stood. He planned to communicate with the people there by uniting the mysterious mountain with the town, using a bridge made of rock, into which he would scatter gold again and again, with the end in view that, even if the people stopped doing their daily work, they would not lack anything they needed.

Was he perhaps about to give to the Candabeños the philosopher's stone, which evaded the golden dream of Zosimus and his companions who unfortunately died before finding the universal panacea, whose motto was: get the benefit without working for it?

Here is what happened. While the rocks which were meant to be the building blocks of the arches of the bridge were being made bigger and bigger by Suku, making them assume the size of a humongous rock little by little, by what magical process no one knows he was also sending his aeta servant (that is, belonging to the race of the aborigines of the country) to the site, carrying large baskets of crude gold under the appearance of ginger (the root as recently pulled out of the soil), which he gave to the people there in exchange for an equal volume of darak (palay husk), which is the feed usually given to the pigs which they raised in that mountain.

According to the tradition, a short while after the crude gold was placed in the container of the happy beneficiary (perhaps because it had already been warmed up), it was turned into coins which were then in use as money. After some more instances of this gold-generating process, our fortunate man started thinking with his relatives on finding an economical way of getting the gold without going into the trouble of husking the rice to get the darak.

One day, after having agreed on how and when to put their plan into action, they separated from one another, each one keeping strict silence, so that the affair would not be known by out-

SUKU REQUIRED MOUNTAIN CLIMBERS TO RECITE THEIR REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO PICK FRUITS FROM TREES

SUKU BUILT A ROCK BRIDGE BETWEEN CANDABA AND HIS MOUNTAIN THROUGH WHICH HE REGULARLY SUPPLIED THE TOWNSPEOPLE WITH GOLD AND SILVER

WHO WAS ISABELO DE LOS REYES?

Isabelo de los Reyes (Don Betlong) was born in 1864 in Vigan, Ilocos Sur. Upon graduation from the San Juan de Letran, he took up special subjects in Law, Paleography, History and Anthropology leading to a degree in Notary Public. Being underaged, he could not immediately practice his profession; he turned to journalism, editing books and leaflets, writing almanacs and contributing articles to various Spanish periodicals. He was the only Filipino at the time who openly debated with Spanish authorities; he was thrown into prison several times; when

his first wife died, he was not allowed to attend the funeral. He was deported to Barcelona where he was imprisoned until the revolution broke out. He was repatriated to the Philippines in 1901. He organized the first labor union in the country, the Union Obrera de Filipinas, and campaigned against the transfer of friar lands to the Catholic Church. His son, Isabelo, Jr. became the Obispo Maximo of the Aglipayan Church while three daughters became Catholic nuns. He died in October, 1938.



siders. Then the aeta came, carrying a large basket on his head. As soon as they saw him, they all threw themselves upon him. He tried his best to defend himself. But finding himself helpless against so many attacking him like moors run berserk, the poor guy was left alone in the place. That way, they were able to get the gold gratis.

Suku got furious about this, of course. He left their heads in the cloud and he punished all those who took part in the brawl by giving them a very pronounced snout, which he also made hereditary. This feature is what distinguishes them now from other Kapampangans. As to the assassin and his descendants, he shaded their snout with fine hair.

He left the bridge unfinished, leaving the already-constructed feet the way one finds them now: blackish rocks. It is at present one of the danger zones there, a constant cause of concern for those who pass by it in small boats during rainy days, due to the big risk of being hurled into the rock by the strong current which whirl around it. It is a sign of the anger and clear vengeance of that benefactor whom those people paid with ingratitude for the favours which at one time they had started enjoying.

He severed forever any communication which the mountain used to have with outsiders, except with one in whom he lavished his favours, and the details of whose story let us now give.

III

In the vicinity of that mountain, there lived, a century ago, a certain peasant, one among so many, who was known as Matuang Imbo (old man Guillermo, William), and who as a young man, according to tradition, made himself worthy of great favours which up to now has never been granted to anybody else. He not only wandered in the whole mountain with no problem at all, but he was also able to penetrate every corner of it.

It is said that, as a sign of his friendship with the powerful Suku, this man owned a bag whose magical powers were a secret for a long time, both to his family and to others. But the secret did not remain such because its owner always hung it in one of the corners of his house, where people noticed the bag being increasingly inflated everyday, and his friends and relatives who looked at it closer out of curiosity whenever he was away found it always empty. The same thing happened while Matuang Imbo was home and they dared to touch it without his permission. All these things made them decide to ask the owner to tell them or

show them what that thing was really meant to be. After they repeatedly and insistently and earnestly requested him to do so, he finally agreed to satisfy them.

And so, one day, he drew from the bag a collection of three small eggs, the size of those of a maya (a species of sparrows) and having different colours at the middle. He thus found himself agreeing to entertain himself at the expense of his friends who were asking for them. He showed them to those people and told them that whoever was able to get hold of them would acquire a special power, namely that, while those were in their possession, they could not be defeated by even the most powerful enemy they would encounter.

He then carefully placed those objects on a plate on the floor, and at a given signal, everybody rushed towards them, pushing one another, elbowing one another- a spectacle! - but no one was able to lift the plates or the eggs from the floor; they were so firmly glued there as if a mysterious hand were holding them in place. There was no force that could make the objects move. But hardly had the people moved a bit away than they saw the small eggs go swaying again from one side of the plate to the other side. They at last got tired of looking like crazy and so they gave up any hope of satisfying their curiosity.

The old Imbo then gathered back those objects and showed them two others: a small cross and a small book, and then made another challenge like the first one: whoever would have the good fortune of having then would be delivered from all kinds of attack by another person, and that, with them, they could jump real high and put them beyond the reach of their enemy; they could instantly disappear from the eyes of all; they could travel in the air to other countries and remain in space as long as they wanted. All of them got excited again. They jumped towards them determined even to break the baptism of one another just so as to catch the prey.

Only the one who has witnessed the skirmish could get an idea of how heads bumped one another, with nobody being bale even just to touch the desired objects, because the crucifix and the small book jumped and jumped, amazingly escaping the hands of the avid contestants, and, whenever the contestants were moving away, the objects went back to their place.

The process was repeated a thousand and one times and... nothing, the same result.

Now, what you do say, dear reader?

SUKU OFTEN SENT HIS AETA SERVANT TO BUY DARAC FOR THE PIGS HE RAISED ON HIS MOUNTAIN

But, this was not all. There were other things inside the mysterious bag, but it would be too much to mention them all.

Nevertheless, we will mention some of those which follow the above-mentioned ones in importance.

One of them was a black upper limb cut at the middle of the forearm, with veins, finger nails, etc., and it seemed to be alive. To tell the truth, it is reported that this forearm can be called an "antidote to anger" (alpaca-ira), because, according to the story, it had the power to melt even the most intense hatred against one who carried this amulet in his possession, because the latter would speak before the other one could and would do so with a voice higher than his adversary.

Another one is an antidote against hunger, whose owner called it Som (very similar to the root of Suma, a medicinal plant in this country), which, if put inside a person's mouth, will enable that person to survive for an indefinite period of time.

And, lastly, another shining stone, the biggest and most precious in the whole collection, according to the legend, which attracted all and every single pialungan or amulets that had been brought to that province by their owners. Since they are not amulets of the sea, about which we will talk when the time comes, they are not beyond its influence.

IV

While the misfortunes that befell some young men and the people of Candaba caused great fear among the inhabitants of the area around Sinukuan, a young shepherd often brought his cattle there, confidently going to the midst hidden corners of that fertile mountain.

With no other weapon than the formula of requesting permission, which he was very careful to recite every time he entered the area or every time he wanted to do something there, he went around without meeting any obstacle along the way.

And do you know why? Because, thanks to his poverty, humility and integrity, he had gained the admiration of the deity of those forests, although he had not intended to: because he was a young man who, aside from being prudent, possessed the special virtue of not aspiring after anything that was not righteous and, without his realizing it, his aura showed that he was predestined to possess a pialungan.

He was the one who later learned about that entire area from Matuang Imbo.

The story says that, in order to make him worthy of Suku's friendship, the latter tested him several times and, where others failed, he alone managed to pass the tests with admirable courage.

So, here is what happened.

One day, while he was wandering around those areas, as he habitually did, watching his cattle graze, he suddenly ran into a big rock which he was sure had never been there before.

Amazed, the young man stood there, motionless. Then, after a while, he approached it in order to get a closer look and... oh! In the center of the rock, there appeared a hole, inside which, far from being dark, it was bright, sufficiently bright. Right away, he recited the formula and, after hesitating for a moment, he entered the hole, curious to see more.

But imagine his astonishment when, once inside, he found himself in front of a palace with humongous gates made of bronze

and whose ceiling was lost in space above. [Footnote: it was the palace of the sorcerer Suku.].

While our young man was absorbed in the contemplation of that edifice, an aeta (a relative of the sorcerer), informed him that he should not just stand there, but that he should right away present himself before the author of all those marvelous things, if he did not like to lose his life for having entered up to there.

Instinctively, he looked back to where he had entered but he found no trace of a hole which had served as his entrance.

Large drops of sweat instantly covered his body as he thought that he had fallen into the gloomy trap of a spell.

What steps must one then take in such a distressing situation?

Between the probability of certain death, if he did not present himself, and the hope that perhaps that powerful being would take pity on him upon seeing his innocence, he chose the latter option; and, plucking up courage, he unhesitatingly entered the palace, accompanied by the aeta.

After passing through some surprisingly beautiful corridors, he and his companion reached the principal stairs. He ascended it upon the advice of the aeta and, upon reaching the last step above, he noticed, at the back of the hall, an old man; a bald, short and fat old man. It was the sorcerer Suku. Dressed like the well-to-do elders of the land, he was reclining on a lankape

made of ebony and adorned with gold and precious stones.

He stood up to receive them and, when our young man saw this, he fell on his knees before him and implored his forgiveness. But instead of reproving him, as the youthful visitor expected, Suku ordered him to rise up and very graciously invited him to sit on one of the silver benches encircling the hall. But not yet recovering at that moment from the scare he had just felt, he did not dare to accept the seat he was being offered. He remained standing as he spent a few minutes talking with the old man and, while doing so, he took occasional glances at the various corners of that large building

Hardly had he felt the calming down of the intense palpitation of his heart caused by the recent surprises when his attention was again caught, this time by the sound of footsteps. They were those of another aeta, who entered trotting, leading two small goats with velvet hair.

When he reached the middles of the hall, he yoked them to a stand which was installed there. After that, he thumped the two animals and they started moving around and oh! The more tired they became, the more pieces of gold they defecated, an ounce each, causing a pleas-

ant sound as they dropped on the iron floor of the palace.

Imagine what our young man must have felt deep inside him at that moment and what his eyes must have desired, if eyes are at all capable of desiring anything.

After that, the goats were substituted by very large cows, which defecated, not gold this time, but pieces of sinamay (textiles native to the place), and they did so with great pleasure.

Meanwhile, he endeavored to show himself indifferent to the spectacle before his eyes, fearing to make an imprudent move which would cost him his life. His greatest desire at that time was to find himself liberated from that difficult situation in which he had become entangled without his knowing it.

But, unfortunately, it was not going to be that way, because he was about to encounter other trials, more difficult and sur-

THE YOUNG, VIRTUOUS MAN ENTERED SUKU'S PALACE WHOSE CEILING "WAS LOST IN SPACE ABOVE"

THE SEVEN DOORS OF THE PALACE WERE GUARDED RESPECTIVELY BY A LION, A TIGER, A BEAR, A VIPER, A SERPENT, AN AETA WITH BOW AND ARROWS, AND A SAGASA, A FIERCE BIRD WITH CURVED BEAK

prising.

When Suku found out that there was no indication that the young man would give in to those temptations, he brought him to the room of his daughters to introduce them to him and find out if their presence would break that iron will which appeared to be impossible to bend.

But neither the dazzling beauty of those girls who were like a strong slap of the angry hand of an evil deity and caused the misfortune of many men who had allowed themselves to fall under their deceptive influence; nor the warm and lavish attention they showed him to seduce and conquer his heart; nor the attractiveness of the rich table prepared as a gesture of welcome, filled with very delicious food, and a great abundance of gold and silver surrounding it; none of these things changed, even a little, the equanimity of that young man, who had such admirable prudence and wisdom that he knew how to react and refuse diplomatically to sit near the table, where, according to reports, very many careless young men perished.

After the meal, when the beautiful nymphs had gone back their respective dwelling places, the old Suku told him how amazed he was that a young man like him, who in his life had seen no other sun than that of Arayat, could combine, at such early age, the virtues of prudence and composure, which are acquired only with gray hair. In continuation, Suku told him that, as a consequence, he would consider himself lucky if the young man would give him the high honor of choosing one of his daughters to be his wife, that being the reason why he had introduced them to him. The old man also told him that if he did, he would have no reason to regret later; that, with it, he would be prosperous, because, in recognition of his consent, Suku would give him all what he possessed and would appoint him the absolute master of all his dominions and, consequently, he would be like Suku: powerful.

He then invited him to go around the palace so he could see for himself the importance of the wealth he was offering him. What called the young man's attention more than anything else was the absence of a kitchen in a building like that. What the inhabitants did was to get whatever they needed by enchantment.

The family members carried the table and everything that had been used during the meal (which they did every day after eating) to a place where a cloud of sunrays consumed it by descending there and covering it for a moment; the entire thing then evaporated- read disappeared- the table and what was on it - leaving no trace. 6

The same process was followed with respect to their waste, which the family members of that house disposed of three times a day.

The detention cell or prison house of the rays, according to the arrangement of the forest deity, was also there, and these rays, when the deity gives even the least signal, would rise up roaring with a terrifying thunder, as if making the entire area dumbfounded. Then, at a given signal, even only a slight one, they became quiet again, as if they were non-existent.

The seven doors of the palace were guarded respectively by a lion, a tiger, a bear, a viper, a serpent, an aeta, heavily-built and armed with a bow and arrows; and a sagasa, a fierce-looking bird with a curved beak.

But the more attention Suku endeavored to show him, the more indifferent the young man showed himself to it all, because

he feared that he might be forced to stay there forever if he did otherwise; and he replied that he was indeed very grateful for it, but that he was very sorry to tell him that he was afraid to court the ire of heaven if he did not follow the advice given to him by his father when he was a child, namely, not to aspire after more than what was there and what ought to be there; to be contented with the condition which he inherited from his parents (1) and, following their examples, to earn a living; and that he found it painfully necessary to refuse to accept the valuable gifts.

At this point, they were already on their way back. They went upstairs, where they saw the three sisters. Our young man greeted them but, as soon as he did, these three very beautiful maidens were transformed, in one click, into very old women-toothless, bald, hunchback, with horrible voices.

Instead of being caught flat-footed by this new development, our hero grabbed this as the opportunity to tell his interlocutor that, if that was how the three looked like, he had no problem accepting them as his sisters, but that, when they were beautiful as they were before, he did not like them to be his spouses nor to be anything else to him, not because he despised beauty, but

because he knew from his own experience that beauty in this world had only two aspects, both deplorable and bad, both for those who care for it and for the women who possess it. Beauty is chased after at all times here and there if it is accompanied by virtue, but it is despised, insulted and stepped on if it is not.

An impressive statement! A strong conviction. And with that, our young man completely gained the admiration of Suku, who found himself impelled to exclaim happily: "Prudent young man, so pleasant to be with, whom I have

been hoping to meet for a long time now. You really deserve a better fortune, especially because you were not greedy for it! You are lucky, because you did not allow yourself to be carried away by the attractive appearances you saw in my house, unlike many who plunged to their misfortune because they thoughtlessly accepted what I was offering. . . they coveted the great wealth I was putting before them and they thereby revealed that they looked at it as of it had been such a little thing that you could pick it in any street corner without working for it and earning it. And so, what did they get? Their damnation, their eternal damnation."

"Now, therefore, go back to your beloved family and live happily. You are not only free from the bad fortune which others met due to their imprudence. Aside from that, you will be powerful the way I am, as long as you conduct yourself the way you have done up to now, that is, prudently!

Go back to your house and I will send to you the guaranty of my friendship, which will make everyone esteem you even in the innermost quarters of my house, which is also yours from this moment on."

One night, while he was alone and gathering his cows in the cattle pen, Suku appeared to him and gave him the bag which had made him popular, and told him to make good use of it.

(1) Footnote: there are many such statements in defense of apathy which are found in Filipino folk tales. Do these erroneous beliefs not at all contribute to the indolence of the natives? De los Reyes.

[Translator's Note: Don Pedro Serrano is obviously biased in saying this because he sees only his first sentence but does not see his second sentence. Ganar el sustento para sus necesidades means to earn and to earn by working. The first sentence is about dole-outs and aspiring after what is beyond one's means. The second one is about honorably working for what you need and want in life. EVS]



SINUKUAN VERSUS

THE AETAS' MEMORY OF A PREHISTORIC ERUPTION SHOWER OF MUD, DUST, ROCK, AS WELL AS EARTHQUAKES, LOUD HOWLING AND A GREAT HOLE AT THE SUMMIT-- THE NEGRITOEES REMEMBER A WHOLE CATALOG OF VOLCANIC ACTIVITIES ON MOUNT PINATUBO

By Jose N. Rodriguez

Excerpts from H. Otley Beyer's *The Ethnography of the Negrito-Aeta Peoples: A Collection of Original Sources* (1915):

Long, long ago, ten-thousands upon ten-thousands of full moons before the appearance of the first man on this earth, all of the land bordering the sea, was ruled by the mighty Aglao, the king of the "Spirit Hunters." These spirits were powerful and numerous. Their chief recreation was to transform themselves into the form of living men and to spend their time hunting deer, unless Aglao needed them to drive away their common enemy, the terrible spirit of the sea, Bacobaco who, you know, makes the storms and the waves. Bacobaco was also extremely fond of deer's meat and sometimes he would transform himself into an enormous turtle and suddenly appearing on the shore of the sea, he would sally forth into the hunting grounds of the "Spirit Hunters" and gorge himself with deer to the neck. Aglao would greatly resent this, but he was powerless compared to this monster. How could he face Bacobaco who carried his thick shield on his back, and who threw fire from his mouth.

However, one day, he consulted Wasi, the spirit of the wind, and Wasi whispered into his ear "Why don't you ask Blit, my brother, to help you? He is the only one capable of killing Bacobaco, for if he hits even the tip of his tail or a toe of one of his feet, it will be enough to kill Bacobaco."

Aglao followed the advice of his friend and Blit was also an enemy of Bacobaco, readily consented to undertake the work and to do all he could.

The following day the huge turtle appeared again, but Blit was quite ready for him this time. But as he carefully placed an arrow to his bow, the wonderful Bacobaco saw him and immediately hid his whole body beneath his shield. The arrow struck

exactly at the place where his head had been thrust forward only a few moments before.

Bacobaco bellowed in so terrible a manner and so much flames escaped from his mouth that Blit only remembered to recharge his bow when the Sea Spirit was already near the lake at the foot of Mount Pinatubu. Again, Bacobaco escaped injury by hiding himself under his shield. He immediately jumped into the lake but the water was so clear, that Blit could see him at the bottom. Finding the lake a useless place of refuge, he climbed the Mount Pinatubu in exactly twenty-one tremendous leaps. When he had reached the top, he at once began to dig a big hole into the mountain. Bit pieces of rock, mud, dust, and other things began to fall in showers all around the mountain. During all the while, he howled and howled so loudly that the earth shook under the foot of Blit, Aglao and his hosts. The fire that escaped from his mouth became so thick and so hot that the pursuing party had to run away.

For three days the turtle continued to burrow itself, throwing rocks, mud, ashes and thundering away all time in deafening wars. At the end of the three days he stopped, and all was quiet again in the mountain. But the lake, with its clear water, was now filled with rocks, and mud covered everything. On the summit of the Pinatubu was the great hole, through which Bacobaco had passed, and from which smoke could be seen constantly coming out. This showed that although he was already quiet, he was still full of anger, since fire continued to come from his mouth.

But now, you do not see the smoke coming out of the Pinatubu Mountain any longer, and many believe that the terrible monster is already dead; but I think that he is just resting after his exertions, and that some day he will surely come out of his hiding place again for a hearty meal on deer, and then, woe be to us.



NAMALYARI

THE DEITIES OF MOUNT ARAYAT AND MOUNT PINATUBO HURLED ROCKS AT EACH OTHER IN A COSMIC BATTLE FOUGHT OVER THE CENTRAL PLAIN

“Suku had a friend, a supernatural being also, whose abode was in the heart of Mt. Zambales. Formerly the Zambales range was not a range but a huge mountain. It was the greatest mount in the archipelago then. This friend, one day, visited Suku and asked the hand of one of his daughters in marriage. Suku was mad with rage at his friend’s proposal and so the latter departed for his abode. The friendly relation between the two supernatural beings was converted into a bitter hatred. One fine morning Suku was strolling on top of Mount Arayat and to his indignation, he saw his enemy strolling also on Mount

Zambales. The two giants saw each other and in an instant huge stones were hurled against each other. The battle went on for two days and the opponent of Suku was beaten... Mount Zambales was shattered into fragments and today we see a range of mountains called Zambales range. Mount Arayat on the other hand received three tremendous blows and so its top has three big holes.” (Alfredo Nicdao, Sinukuan, 1916)

“Cargon Cargon was very much contented in this place and after a few years had passed he received a decisive challenge

from another giant who lived in Zambales mountain. Cargon accepted the challenge and they fought by throwing big stones to each other. After their fight the enemy of Cargon was killed but Cargon was also mortally wounded. It was said that at the summit of Mount Arayat there is a large flat rock where Cargon was supposed to have stood, when he was fighting his enemy. A few months later Cargon died and his son named Suku inherited the mountain.... It is said that this Suku married the daughter of the giant of Zambales who had been the enemy of Suku’s father.” (Dominador G. David, Pampangan Folklore Stories, 1917)

Sinukuan and Makiling

THE TAGALOG DEITY’S THREE SONS KIDNAPPED THE KAPAMPANGAN GOD’S THREE DAUGHTERS, AND ALL HELL BROKE LOOSE

“The time came when the town was put in great danger of being reduced to ruins by a deadly duel between Sinukuan and Makiling, the king of the mountain of that same name situated in the southern part of Luzon.

“Makiling had three sons who possessed an adventurous spirit. Although they were brave, his three sons lacked in them that noble sentiment often found among the royal families of old. These three princes heard that Sinukuan had

three beautiful daughters unsurpassed by any of the princesses in the island of Luzon. They therefore decided to ask their father Makiling to let them go to Arayat to woo the daughters of Sinukuan. After Makiling warned them to take care not to arouse the wrath of Sinukuan, the three brothers departed. They went to Arayat incognito in order not to arouse the suspicion of the town folks. They mingled with the town people, always busy looking for the daughters of Sinukuan.

“One Sunday morning, the three princes happened to be in the town market. They were greatly attracted by the beauty of three peasant girls who were at the time buying darac. The three brothers decided to follow the girls in order to know where the latter lived. The three peasant girls, after having done their marketing, went towards the mountain and when they arrived at its foot, the girls changed their peasant dresses to those of royal families. The sons of



MOUNT MAKILING



MOUNT ARAYAT

SINUKUAN'S FANTASTIC 5

MEET THE FAB FIVE OF SINUKUAN: SUPLA SUPLING, MIRAN MIRON, KARGON KARGON, PUNTA PUNTING AND KURAN KURIN

In another version of the story, Sinukuan had five servants, namely, Kargon Kargon, the strongest man who could carry the world on his shoulders; Supla Supling, who could create a typhoon by blowing the wind; Miran Miron, who had a telescopic vision with which he could see great distances; Punta Punting, who is the world's best archer; and Kuran Kurin, who is the world's fastest runner.

Makiling were greatly charmed and thanked their Bathala for their good fortune. As the latter were not well dressed they decided to go back to the town and wait for the next Sunday.

"The time came and the sons of Makiling, dressed in their royal attires, went to the place where the three daughters of Sinukuan usually stopped before they ascended the mountain. They did not wait a long time, when the three sisters arrived. The sons saluted courteously and asked the sisters if they could help them carry their darac. The three sisters politely refused. Not contented with this failure, the brothers declared their love. The sisters replied that they

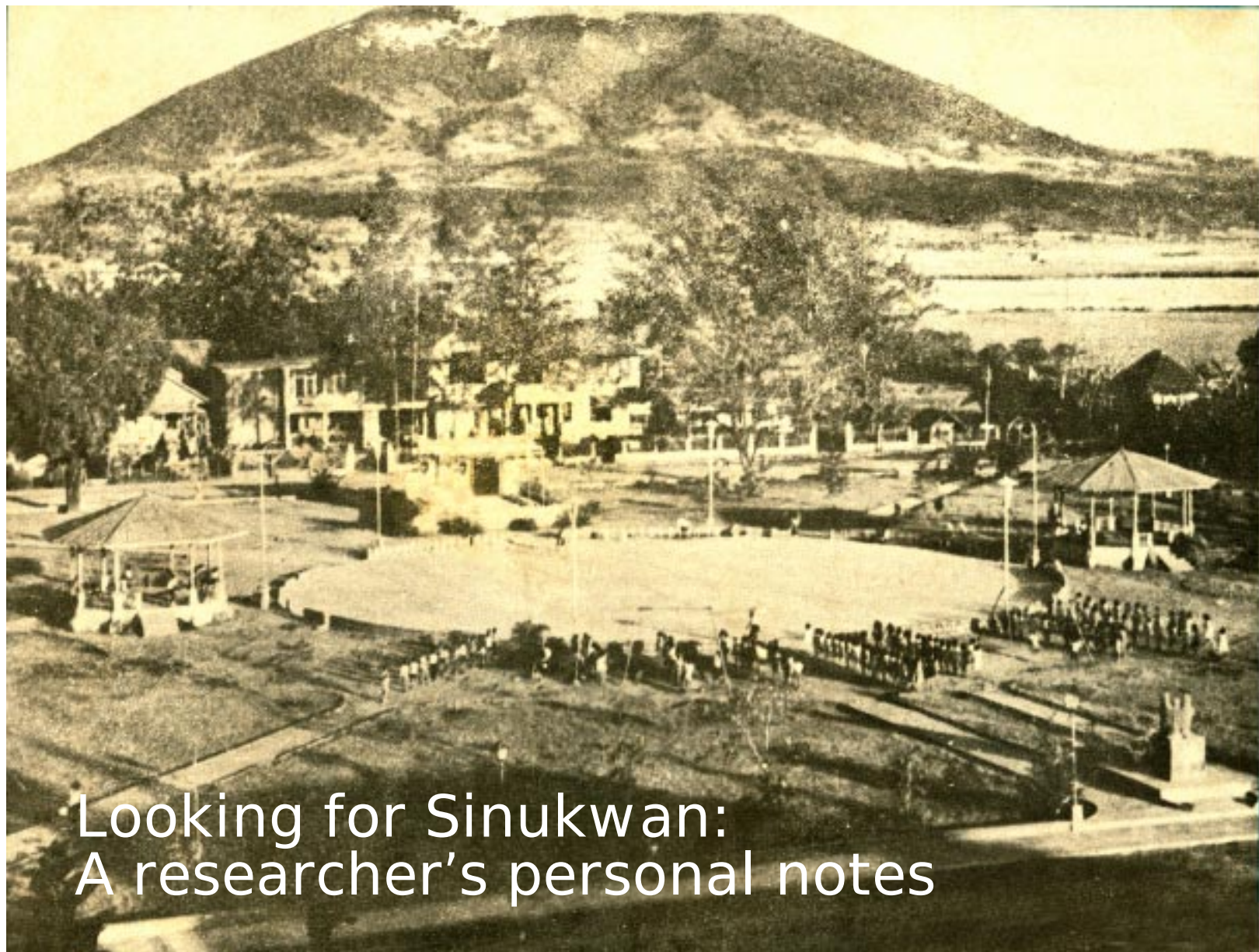
daughters of Sinukuan. The poor girls had no strength to contend with the three powerful brothers. They soon found themselves on swift horses with the sons of Makiling, running away from Arayat. It happened that a peasant farmer saw the eloping persons and reported the case to the town folks. There was panic in the town. Everybody was crying. Sinukuan soon heard the news and pursued them. With only one long stride he succeeded in capturing the eloping brothers. After separating his daughters from the grasp of the three brothers, Sinukuan asked who they were. Upon learning they were the sons of Makiling he decided to kill them. Sinukuan grasped them all with one of his powerful

regretted very much that they could not receive or accept their affections because they had made a vow never to marry but to spend the rest of their lives helping the needy.

"The three princes were enraged at their second failure and decided to use their strength to get the

hands and hurled them towards Mount Makiling.

"Makiling was at that time slumbering in his palace when he was awakened by a tremendous noise produced by a falling body. When he looked at the window, he saw a horrible scene. His three sons had been crushed to death. He became furious and with his powerful voice cried to Sinukuan asking for an explanation for the death of his sons. Sinukuan who was standing at the top of Mount Arayat answered that he had no explanation to give except that Makiling's sons deserved that punishment. Then Makiling took a huge pestle for pounding stones and hurled it towards Sinukuan. The latter saw the flying pestle and went down from the mountain. The mountain of Arayat was struck at the top and a great part of the summit was torn into pieces. Many people of Arayat were killed by the flying stones. Sinukuan, seeing the great havoc, took a very heavy mortar and hurled it at Mount Makiling. The latter was hit at the middle. The result was that Mount Makiling was reduced almost into a hill. Thousands of people were killed in Southern Luzon by this tremendous duel and Makiling himself seeing that he was defeated sought rest by suicide." (Cipriano de los Reyes, *The Three Daughters of Sinukuan*, 1915)



Looking for Sinukwan: A researcher's personal notes

A pre-war picture of Mount Arayat taken from the San Bartolome church belfry, with the Magalang public square in the foreground

**"THE TRADITION OF ORALLY TRANSMITTING FOLK STORIES IS GONE, BUT
ALTHOUGH MY SEARCH DID NOT FIND SINUKUAN, IT YIELDED SO MUCH MORE"**

By Emerson Sanchez

I consider it a fortunate experience that I developed an interest in Sinukwan (also spelled Sinukuan) folk stories as a research topic. Having been raised in urban Angeles since the late 70s by business-minded parents, folklore in general was far from my sphere of interests as a child and as an adult. At most, I vaguely remember reading or hearing snippets of stories about Mariang Sinukuan in relation to the safety of climbing the mountain. But that changed as a graduate student in 2000, when I was looking for a research topic.

One of my revered mentors, a Bikol folklorist herself, encouraged me to look into Kapampangan folklore. Her suggestion led me to several months of research at the University of the Philippines Main Library.

As I was perusing Edna Manlapaz's Kapampangan Literature: A Historical Survey and Anthology, what struck me was her claim that: "About the only group of folk narratives that are identifiably Kapampangan in origin are those that revolve around the figure Sinukuan, the legendary giant who was said to have ruled over the entire Kapampangan valley from his home on the top of Mt. Arayat."¹ Her work became a sort of scholarly treasure map for me as her work detailed the sources of printed Kapampangan folk materials.

The largest collection of Sinukwan folk narratives I found were in the Pampanga Section of the Philippine Ethnographic Series of H. Otley Beyer, collected by his students in the first quarter of the 1900s. Another American scholar who featured some

of these narratives in his collection is Dean S. Fansler in his Filipino Popular Tales, originally published in 1921. In Filipino folklorist Damiana Eugenio's Philippine Folk Literature Series, some volumes published in the 1980s and 1990s include a few of these narratives. But perhaps the oldest existing² documentation of the folk narratives can be found in the Pampanga section (contributed by Pedro Serrano) of Isabelo de los Reyes's *El Folklore Filipino*, Volume II. The two-volume collection was originally published in 1889 and 1890.

My fascination with Sinukwan folk narratives is their promise of a truly Kapampangan character. And this character is undeniably rooted in the actual orally transmitted story. As a graduate student in a language program, if I wanted to make

conclusive linguistic analyses on the actual (orally transmitted) stories, I needed to at least analyze manuscripts in the original language—Kapampangan—in which they were told.

But the available materials were far from ideal; the extant copies were mostly translations in English and Spanish. Some were in Kapampangan but, judging their literary and linguistic forms, these may even be creative adaptations or embellished versions, and not the exact written version of the orally transmitted folk narrative.

I considered most of the available materials unfit for my intended study because I believe that the translation process must have, in some way, altered the story that was originally narrated in Kapampangan, and, in my point of view, “corrupted” the indigenous character of the folk narratives.

So given that situation, I set out on a few days of fieldwork to five towns and two

cities of Pampanga in October 2001. My efforts yielded no positive result. The oral tradition of transmitting folk stories was almost lost. What remained were only snippets or summaries of the narrative which informants (now in their old age) remember from their childhood, as members of the audience of the oral tradition. Among the people I interviewed, none of them became traditional folk narrators who could have continued the tradition of narrating these stories to the next generation.

Is it a lost cause? I am not certain. I don’t consider my fieldwork to be conclusive of the current state of the narratives’ preservation through oral tradition. I may have followed the wrong trail among my informants or perhaps a few more days of fieldwork might have led me to a traditional narrator of the story.

My fieldwork may have been unsuccessful but I was still able to write a few research papers on the available materials.

As I will later realize, the translations available are actually valuable materials in the field of translation studies.

More importantly, in the few days of my field work, I learned a lot of things about the different towns and cities of my home province, so much more than in the several years of actually growing up in Angeles. These discoveries relate to geography, livelihood, language, heritage, and cultural practices. The experience became an opportunity for me to connect more with my province, its people, and its traditions.

In the end, I set out looking for Sinukwan but what I found was so much more.

NOTES

1. Edna Manlapaz, *Kapampangan Literature: A Historical Survey and Anthology* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1981). p. 6.

2. This statement also serves to correct the information previously published in *Singsing* (Vol. 2 No. 1) that described the documents found in the Beyer collection as “the earliest written accounts of the Sinukuan story” (p. 7).

MYTHS VERSUS FACTS

MYTH: ARAYAT IS STILL ACTIVE AND MAY ERUPT ANYTIME

FACT: THE LAST ERUPTION OCCURRED 530,000-650,000 YEARS AGO

By Joel Pabustan Mallari

Central Luzon includes three major geographical divisions, namely, the Zambales Mountains, the Central Plain and the Cordillera Central. The Zambales Mountains are a range of high rugged peaks trending slightly west of north. The Central Plain embraces the intermountain area of Central Luzon. It is an almost level plain, rising only a few meters above sea level. It is characterized by poor drainage and frequent flooding. Several peaks dot the extensive alluvial plain: Mt. Balungao, elevation 377 meters; Mt. Bangcay, 400 meters; Mt. Amorong, 386 meters; Mt. Cuyapo, 240 meters, and Mt. Arayat, 1,030 meters. On the other hand, Mt. Pinatubo is the most prominent peak among the crests of Zambales Mountains.

Myth: Mt. Arayat and Mt. Pinatubo belong to the same type of volcanic mountain group. As generally believed among folk stories, they are mikapatad (siblings).

Fact: Dr. Jean Christophe Gaillard summarized two opposing theories on the volcanic alignment of Mt. Bangcay, Mt. Amorong and Mt. Balungao. The first theory considers it as the back arc of the western Central Luzon arc that stretches from Mariveles Mountains and Mount Natib, to the Zambales Mountains which include Mount Kuadrado, Negron and Pinatubo. The second theory makes it an arc by itself, independent from the Western Central Luzon arc. In either of these two theories, the formation of these two volcanic arcs is linked to the subduction of the South China Sea plate along the Manila trench.

Myth: Mt. Arayat is still an active volcano that at any time may erupt.

Fact: It was Michael Bau, a French scientist who made most of the scientific documentation of Mt. Arayat’s petrography and geochemistry. From his findings, he suggests significant data about the eruptive history of the said volcano. The first eruption phase of the volcano has not been dated but it must have spewed out basalts and pyroclastics. A period of stillness of uncertain extent

must have followed this first eruptive period. Consequent to the buildup of magma in the top region of the molten rock cavity, this old volcano experienced its second and last stage of activity between 530,000 and 650,000 years ago (+50,000 years), thus making the Arayat an active volcano up to 2,000 B.P. (0.53 and 0.65 million-year-old basalts that predated collapse and subsequent formation of the lava dome) perhaps referring to its thermal activity.

Myth: Mt. Arayat is really several mountains that make up the rugged peaks, includes the major twin peaks, the White Rock and the amphitheater formation.

Fact: It is a single cone Quaternary volcano. Explosive eruptions on the western flank of the volcano explains why it does not have a perfect conical structure. The eruptions as documented, must have triggered massive pyroclastic flows and base surges, and minor lava flows besides tephra fall. S. Geronimo - Catane has estimated the amount of debris avalanche materials triggered by the eruption at 0.75 km according to the missing volume of the amphitheater that now forms the top of the volcano.

Myth: The White Rock which is also called Maputing Batu (and Piedra Blanca before) is a rich formation of limestone and/or white marble.

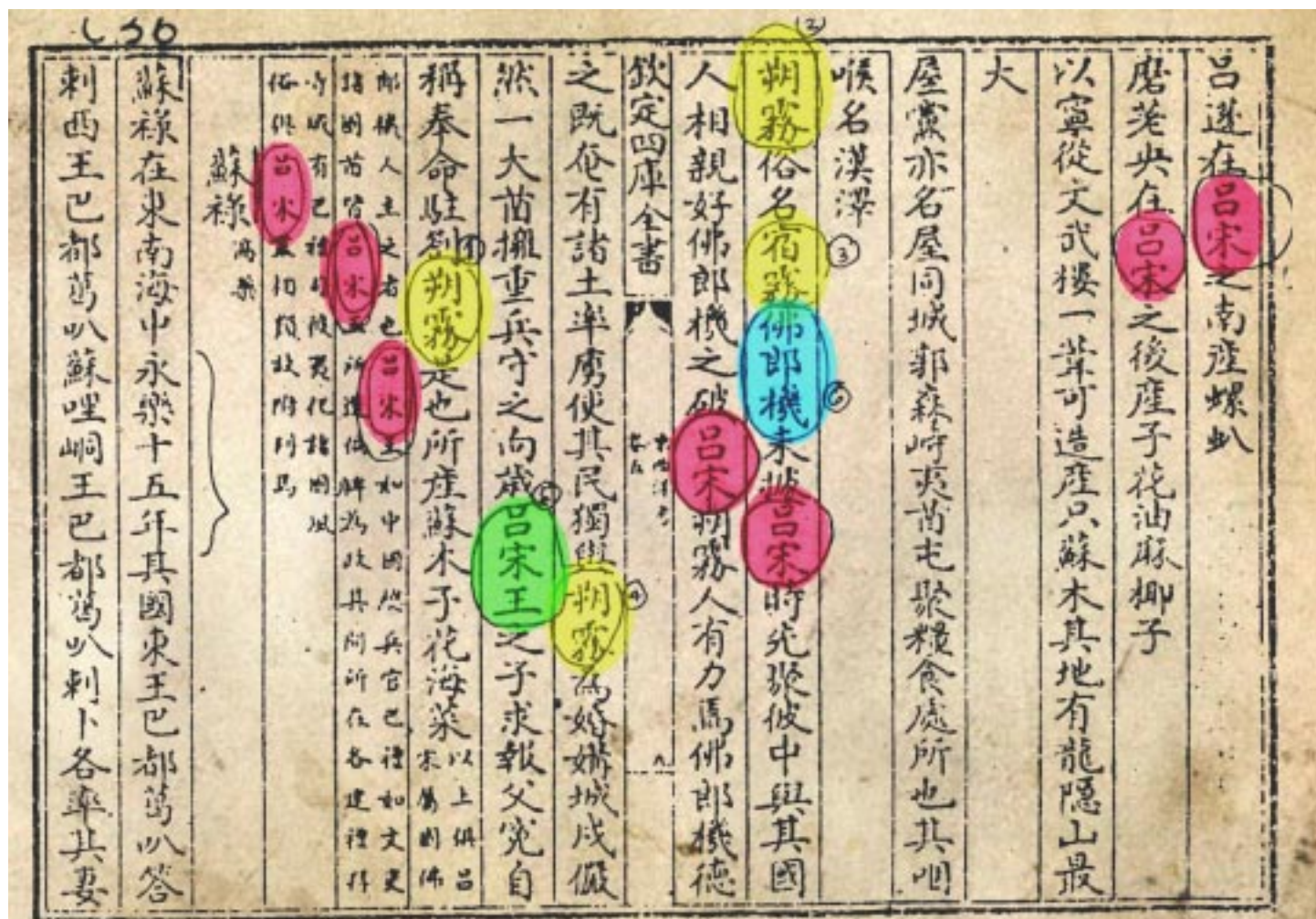
Fact: After the last recorded eruptive period the degassed and more viscous magma of the then active Arayat volcano protruded as a lava dome. This partly revealed outcrop started to form possibly after a large crater breached on the west-northwest side which is the apparent source of a major debris-avalanche deposit which now forms a hammocky terrain beyond the west and northwest sides of the volcano. Post-collapse activity formed an andesitic dome known today as White Rock in the collapsed amphitheater. This extinct volcano consists of tertiary and later effusive rocks, mostly rhyolites, dacites, andesites and basalts.

SUKU AS A HISTORICAL FIGURE

WAS THE LEGEND BASED ON A KING OF LUZON ISLAND?

COULD SUKU OF PAMPANGA AND LAKANDULA OF TONDO BE ONE AND THE SAME?

By Joel Pabustan Mallari



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Dong Xi Yang Kao Vol. 5

lu sung

suku

ari lusung

pulangki

Reference: Wang Teh-ming (1967 *Sino-Filipino historico-cultural relation*); and Michael Pangilinan and Hiroaki Kitano (2006, personal communication)

Mt. Pinatubo is often called Apu Maliari, Namalyari, Mayari or Pungsalang, while Mt. Arayat is variously referred to as Suku, Sinukuan, and Apulaki. In a 1967 thesis done by Wang Teh-ming entitled *Sino-Filipino historico-cultural Relations*, he made use of old Chinese documents trying to reconstruct the relations between the Chinese and the early settlers in Luzon. Historian Michael Pangilinan and linguist Hiroaki Kitano examined passages from Wang's documents about a certain "suku" (or sukwu), (the) "king of Lusung", and (the) "pulangki" (or

"Fo Lang Ji"). Pangilinan however, cautions that this document might have been compiled at a later date (1618, after the Spaniards had arrived in Luzon); thus further research may yield better understanding of this previously interpreted entries.

"Lusung" as Luzon

Luzon is the largest island in the archipelago, which, according to geographer R.A. Skelton, was known first to the Chinese as Liusung (or Lusung). The Portuguese chronicler Tome Pires called it Lucoes (Luzones) in his *Suma Oriental* of 1512, as he referred to the people of Ma-

nila Bay area, most probably the Tagalogs if not also their Kapampangan neighbors as what Valentino Sitoy and William Henry Scott suggest. A 13th-century account of Chao-J u-Kua provides important notes on early Philippine ports and the domestic patterns of trade in relation to international trade network. It was in 1372 (or 1373 in some sources), when Liu-sung (as recorded in the Ming Annals) responded to the invitation of Hung Wu, the first emperor of Ming Dynasty by sending a tribute mission to China, three years (or four in some sources) after the Ming Dynasty ascended



"TO THE HONORABLE AND MOST ESTEEMED LADY, MADAME MARIA MAGDALENA DE PAZIS SOLIMAN LACANDOLA, MUNICIPAL HEAD OF THE CAPITAL TOWN OF BULACAN, MATRIARCH OF THE LACANDOLA CLAN, CHAIRPERSON OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S LEAGUE." This is probably the coat of arms of the King of Tondo, Lakandula (Lacandola), which features a lion and a tiger. The Kapampangan boast "Keng leon, king tigri e ku tatakut, keka pa?" probably originated from this coat of arms. Source: Fray Pedro Andres de Castro, OSA (personal chaplain of Doña Maria Magdalena de Pazis) Facsimile edited by Antonio Graiño (Madrid: Libreria General de Victoriano Suarez, 1930). This picture was sent to Dr. Luciano PR Santiago by David RM Irving, Clair College, Cambridge, UK.

to the Dragon Throne as what William Henry Scott (in 1989), Epistola (in 1977) and Skelton (in 1963) recorded in their respective works. Gregorio Zaide's work in 1990 mentions that Luzon traders from a polity known as San-tao, regularly went to the southern Chinese coast at Küang-cho (Canton) on trading expeditions at the time (AD 1400 to AD 1500). By the 15th century Japanese settlers had already been found living in Manila, Mariveles and Subic Baton on the west coast of Luzon Island; Japanese ships also sailed along the Ilocos coast to buy raw cotton, tina (indigo), gold and pearls. According to Fay-Cooper Cole's 1912 Chinese Pottery in the Philippines, trade items most sought by the Nipponese (Japanese) were ceramic jars that had been brought into the islands by the Chinese or seafaring local traders during the Sung and Yüan periods, which they prized for the storage of tea leaves. These jars apparently were part of the "Luzon Wares" that became famous in the area.

"Luzon King"

On October 17, 1405 Luzon, together with Mao-li-wua and envoys from Java, presented tributes; the Chinese government sent an imperial decree to Manila, confirming the rulers of Luzon in their positions as found recorded among Chinese annals, the Ming Shi and Ming Shi Lu. It was in this same year when probably after the tribute missions prospered, a great Chinese fleet of more than 60 vessels and 27,000 people under the command of the now famous Admiral Cheng Ho is said to have passed through the archipelago, visiting ports in Lingayen, Manila Bay, Mindoro and Sulu. The economic importance of Luzon to the Chinese government was obviously felt in the region. Skelton also mentioned a Chinese governor named Ko-ch'a-lao at he was appointed for the island of Luzon.

Another Lü-sung mission went to China bringing presents such as "small but very strong" horses, while the celestial Ming emperor reciprocated with gifts of silks, strings of copper "cash", porcelain etc. for the "King of Luzon". Two more visits were made from 1410 and 1412 by the great Chinese fleet which visited once again the different ports of the archipelago before proceeding to southern India, the Persian Gulf and the coast of Africa.

Moreover, a certain "King of Luzon"

was also mentioned in Adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi's report in 1567, in which he sent word to a certain "King of Luzon" that he would like to open trading relations with him. This "king" is said to refer to Lakandula of Tondo. If Pangilinan is precise in his preliminary findings, the "Luzon King" he interpreted might be the person recognized by the Ming emperor, or the Lakandula of Tondo. These two "encounters" might be referring to the same person since they are contemporaneous to each other.

Suku and Apulaki

If Mt. Pinatubo is referred to as Apu Maliari, Mt. Arayat is called Apulaki. These two prominent topographic features are joined by another prominent peak, Mt. Cuyapo located approximately 50 km in the north of Mt. Arayat. All mountains bear the name apu or apo indicative of an honorific title. Similarly, in Zambales in the southern part of Mt. Pinatubo is the City of Olongapo, whose name also bears the honorific apo.

Fr. Edilberto Santos suggests that this apu term may also be referring to ancestors somewhat identical to ari (as the sun). Using Fr. Diego Bergano's definitions for sukú (or sucú), the above mentioned placenames can be fitted geographically as follows:

The three mountains Arayat, Cuyapo and Pinatubo act as terminal markers, like Pinatubo being associated with the westerly setting of the sun idiomatically called *sucucan ning aldo*. Bergano also recorded *sinucúnang danum*, or *mesucúnang danum*, when the water or the tide reaches its ordinary peak, like on a full moon, or in a flood. This folk wisdom can be associated or related to the Kapampangan interpretation to the placename Olongapo.

The relationship of the two terms sukú and apu are further justified in Bergano's work, noting the example *sucúsucúneng tua*, meaning he has reached the peak of old age. Historically, it was in 1521, when Si Ache (who at one time was captured by the group of Italian Antonio Pigafetta

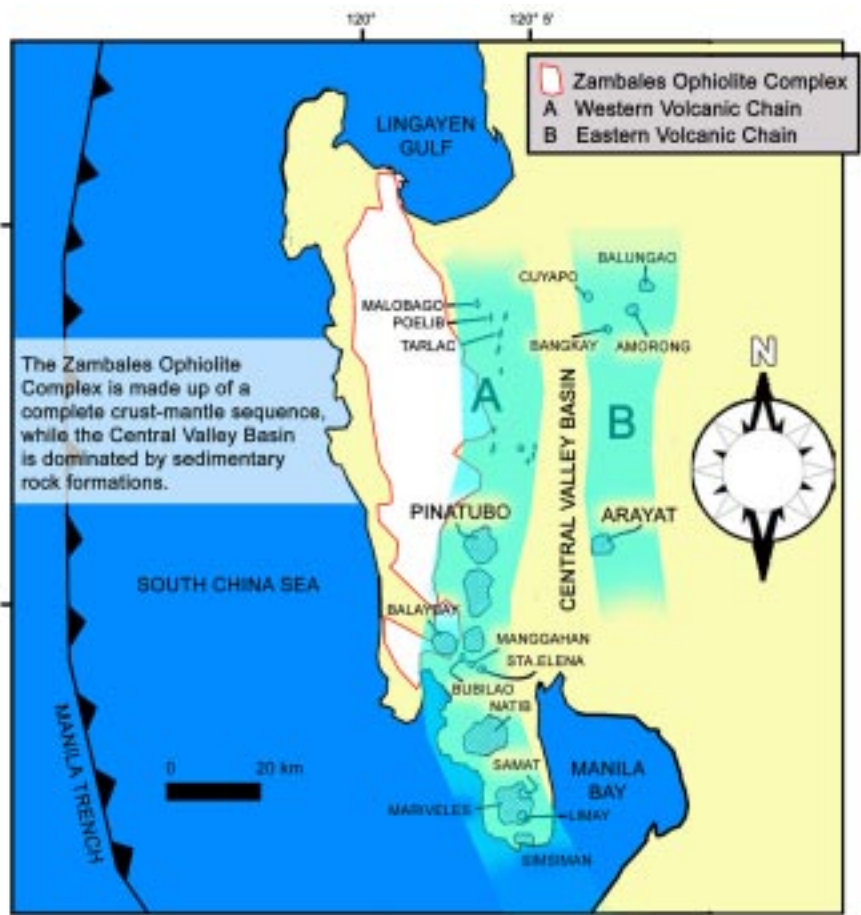
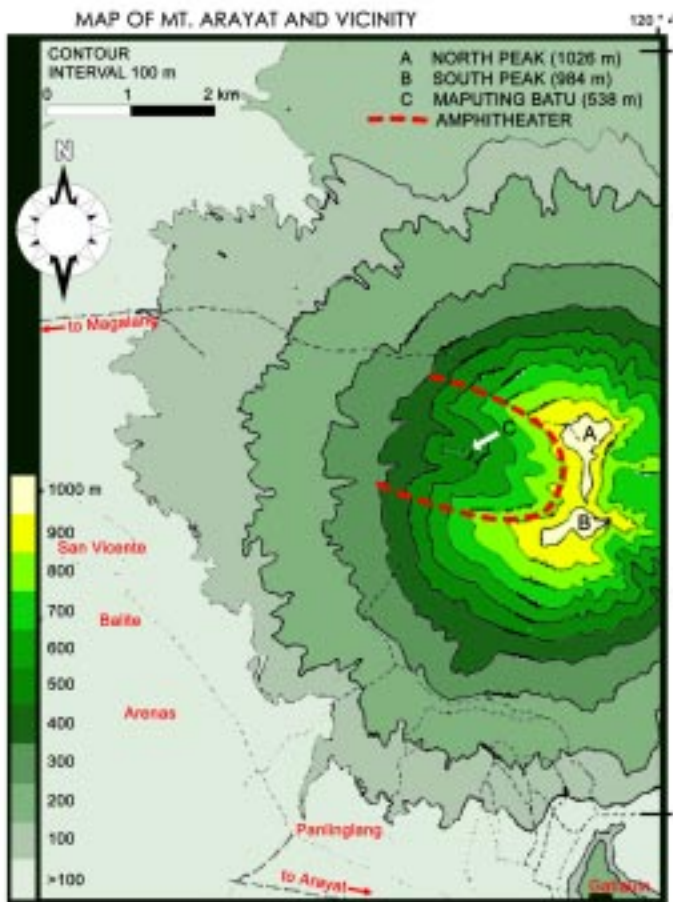
chronicler of Ferdinand Magellan), captured this prince of Lü-sung while cruising along the Bornean coast. This prince who would later be known as Rajah Matanda of Manila and son of Sri Laila (Suliman), defeated his cousin, the old Lakandula of Tondo, and placed his youngest brother Si Banau as the new Lakandula.

Arayat and Lakandula

In a brief postulation made by Z.A.Salazar (Veneracion 1986), he suggested the most possible existence of two major group of settlers thriving along the coastal-riverbank regions "i.e. the rivers of Pasig and Pampanga - Tondo (which includes Meycawayan and probably Calumpit and covers as far as Pampanga) and may muog of Manila". Even the earliest document, the Laguna Copperplate Inscription (LCI) confirms an early association of chiefdoms, like Tondo and neighboring villages from as early as 900 AD which actually covers certain old Manila Bay area as what Dutch Palaeographer Antoon Postma (1991) describes.

The old Lakandula (Dec. 16, 1503 - Mar. 21, 1589) said to be a native of Tabungao of Kalumpit Province (now Bulacan), was the sovereign chief of Tondo. Again if the initial translations done by Pangilinan are precise in identifying certain names (?) like Suku, King of Luzon and Apulaki, these entitles might refer to only one person in the name of Lakan Dula, the old lakan of Tondo, the king of Luzon, the recognized leader by the Ming emperor and that of the people in Borneo. Thus considering this hypothesis, it was during the time of Lakandula, when he was the sukú, chief of Tondo, then the rising capital of Luzon villages encompassing figurative markers from as far as Mt. Cuyapo in the north of the Central Plain, Mt. Arayat, Mt. Pinatubo down to old Olongapo area (the area that breaks the chain of Zambales Mountains). This is the area that is geographically covered by the vast claims of properties in Central Luzon mentioned in "The Will of Pangsonum" discovered by Luther Parker in 1911-1913 in Candaba, Pampanga. The Pampanga nobility were closely allied with the royal family of Tondo. The fact that Dionisio Kapolong of Candaba who was once part of the old Arayat's Balen ning Pambuit was Lakandula's son, and one of his brothers and two cousins were among the captives taken in the Bankusay battle.

Placenames	Kapampangan association and interpretation	English gloss If apu = ancestor
Mt. Arayat	Apu Laki (lalaki ?)	Great ancestor (male ancestor)
Mt. Cuyapo	Kuya Apu	Older (brother) ancestor
Mt. Pinatubo	Apu Maliari (or Apu Mal a Ari)	Great and precious ancestor
Olongapo City	Ulu nang apu	Ancestor's headwater, (or ancestor's leadership?)



Left map shows the area where the massive landslide occurred on the slope of Mt. Arayat which revealed the lava dome (White Rock). Right map shows Pampanga being sandwiched by two volcanic chains-- which probably inspired the myth of the warring gods.

LIVING BETWEEN TWO VOLCANOES

HOW THE VOLCANIC ACTIVITIES OF ARAYAT AND PINATUBO SHAPED LANDSCAPES AND MINDSCAPES IN THE KAPAMPANGAN REGION

By Joel Pabustan Mallari

Chain folkstories

The strong imaginative character of figurative understanding of natural landmarks in Kapampangan is not an exclusive and unique culture to claim. But it may be looked upon as a way of how the people treated this landscape then and now and then. Mythically speaking, the mountains of Arayat and Pinatubo always been looked as "gods" and "supernaturals". Mt. Arayat is often impersonated variously as Suku, Sinukuan, and Apulaki in some folktales; while Mt. Pinatubo is often regarded as the brother (or sometimes a sister) of Mt. Arayat known as Maliari, Namalyari by the Aitas, Mayari in some folktales, Pungsalang etc. The general run of the story indicates the partitioning of rulership of one whole day, which is during daytime the "sun god" who resides from the Mt. Arayat rules and during the night stretch the "moon god" that hails in the Pinatubo mountain takes over. The daytime ruler have brighter eyes that makes the day time bright and the nighttime ruler with his/her one eye

blinded (struck by his/her brother's spear) by his/her brother reduced his/her glow thus becoming dimmer at nighttime.

Geophysical trait

Mt. Arayat was often regarded as the eastern mountain which has some basis especially if it is considered by its "other spelling" as alaya. This term is noted in the 1860 Bocabulario of Fray Diego Bergano. It is in this aspect where questions of direction arise. One question is regarding to the relativity of its being "eastern", east of what? East of Pinatubo, perhaps. If that is the case, who lives beside the Pinatubo area - at present this "area" is predominantly peopled by at least 2 groups of Aitas and the Kapampangans.

What determines the direction of east and west can be relatively relied on the cycle of the sun's movement: the sun rise from the east and sets from the opposite end, in the west. If that is so, Mt. Arayat's location justifies its being "eastern" and relatively locates Pinatubo as the west end. Indeed, the location that sets them apart

actually forms a virtual division that creates a place for the affected observers. Thus the demarcation of this observers' location places its position to the present provinces of Pampanga and Tarlac.

Philosophical "sun"

By extracting the key concepts of chained folktales, the "god" that the people see are considered figuratively as both "sun" and "king" combined. Epistemologically speaking, the Kapampangan "aldo" and "ari" share concepts among their cognates to other Southeast Asian languages (Austronesians). Natural phenomena in the sky are significantly considered to them as "god" or "god's works", example in Indonesia, "matahari" is the sun, while "bahaghari" and "pinanari" is the rainbow word to the Tagalogs and Kapampangan respectively which both literally mean as sun's loincloth. The fact that the ancient word "ari" in Kapampangan meant as the sun is very similar to Tagalog "arao", thus making it as a significant reference at least for the early sense of direction, the ancient

setting of time and so forth which heavily dictates the evolving culture of the early people(s) in the area. This concept may have been regarded and revered such that the sun becomes a “king” for its importance and “highness” and is woven to folkstories as part of early people’s memory handling. In fact, a prominent Kapampangan surname - Mallari and the known Aitas’ god Namalyari bear the same etymological meaning as “precious sun”, which only indicates the significance of this brightest celestial body known and popular to ancient people.

Finding ancient kapangpangan setting
Kapangpangan or kapampangan as a place actually refers to the region of riverbanks or coastal areas. This setting is dependent on the ever changing and active movements of river patterns since most of the major rivers in the present lower half of the Central Plain have their headwaters originating from the slopes of Mt. Pinatubo. In some geological studies, it was hypothesized that the palaeoshoreline of Pampanga is traceable up to the area of Guagua and Bacolor, thus making the old kapangpangan setting located on the middle part up to the present Tarlac-Pampanga.

On the other hand, as it was generally known that the sun rises in the east, the initial impression is something to be expected at least for the early settlers of this region. In consequence, it already explains the understanding of how the ancient people see the location of Mt. Arayat as “alaya”, the dawn which makes Mt. Arayat as the “eastern mountain”. This might also explain the old term “sucu”, which is defined by Fray Bergano as “the terminal or end (indeterminate end)”, and in this case the rising point and fullness of the sun’s light (and shape). Can this explains or contradicts the “growth” of the other, which is the literal definition of the Pinatubo name? Other namesakes associated to Pinatubo include Pungsalang, which is regarded as the “god of enmity”. Is it because of Pinatubo’s early active state as what early people probably witnessed when it brought ancient volcanic disaster in the region? The dim image of Pinatubo might be associated to the setting sun as it was idi-

atically called before as *sucsucan ning aldo*, which literally means the “sun that pricks” referring to the location on the western direction, known as *albugan*, or *kalunuran*. It is in same way the term *paroba* is assigned which refers to the westward direction directly opposite *paralaya*. Just imagine how stunning is the imagination and their strong sense of direction of this early people, seeing Suku as a “bright god”, the “precious sun” that ascends from the east at the back of the silhouette of Arayat mountain and attains its “pangasucu” at noon time and being complemented by the setting grace of Maliari in the west as it is drowned by the ruggedness of Zambales Mountains especially when it becomes *meguintalang*, the reddened sun as it nears the horizon mentioned by Fray Diego Bergano in his 1732 work.

Another cycle of natural phenomena breaks this daily pattern at least every several generations which is the erupting activities of Mt. Pinatubo. The eruptive history of this volcano has had records of its last two periods prior to the last 1991, namely the Maraunot eruptive period (~3,900-2,300 yr B.P.) and Buag eruptive period (~1500 yr B.P.) which affected the lives of these early inhabitants. The fact that archeological findings already presented evidences of large habitation sites in Porac and in San Marcelino, Zambales, at various stages of time as early as even before the Maraunot eruptive period in Porac. This only proves that these particular areas were once populated and repopulated for several period during the course of the Pinatubo eruptive history.

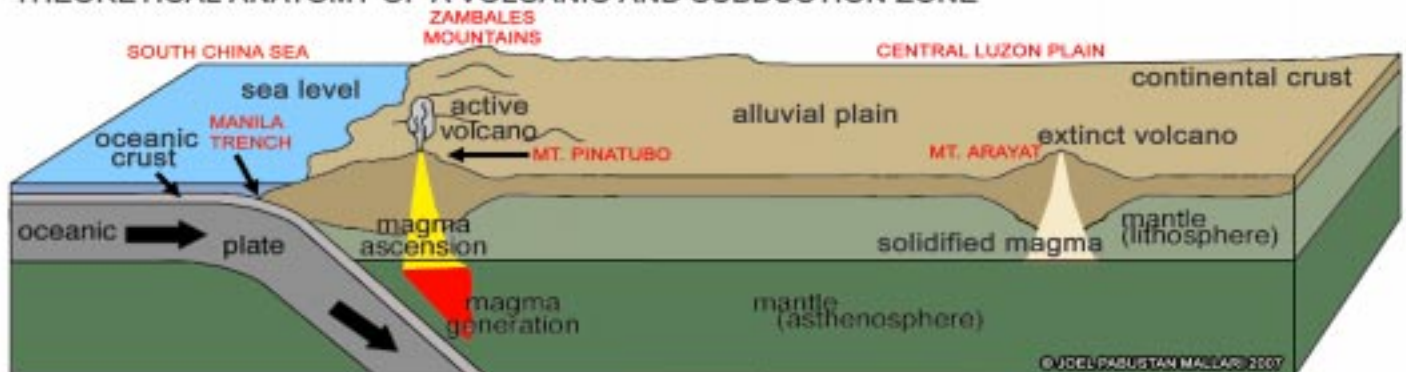
Fitting puzzles of Arayat, Pinatubo and Kapampangan

It is in this synthesis of understanding, where the early spot of the old coastal area of Pampanga can be partly traced. Firstly, if the location of Mt. Arayat proves to be directly found on the east, it relatively locates the opposite land most likely the earlier deltaic plain now thickly covered by the present land area of Tarlac-Pampanga boundary. Secondly, this area is actually the central portion that covers most likely the ancient fanning action of sediments

brought by the major rivers that originate from the slopes of Mt. Pinatubo. According to geologist Christopher Newhall, around 2,000 years after the rise of the sea level, another major eruptive history of Mt. Pinatubo occurred, dubbed as the Crow Valley Eruptive Period (~6,000-5,000 yr B.P.) which was during the early part of this activity where at least four thick pyroclastic flows also form prominent layers and terraces in the present Sacobia River. Today this area covers much of the present site of the Tarlac-Pampanga boundary which was formerly known as La Alta Pampanga during the Spanish Period. These fluvial deposits blankets the lower area of the future sugar land of Tarlac Province, emplaced, voluminous pyroclastic-flow deposited among the headwaters of the O’Donnell River which were the source of fluvial sediments forming the present rich sandy loams. Thus if there were already people residing in this old area, most likely that they later migrated southward moving away from the Pinatubo area towards the newly reclaimed land in the south which is now part of coastal Pampanga. The location of Mt. Arayat and the mountain group of Pinatubo in Zambales provide focal point of direction and location of people(s) found living or situated between them which is precisely the old Kapampangan setting, the old deltaic plain. It is in this case that the old alluvial plain which is relatively much lower in elevation compared to the present area of the Tarlac-Pampanga boundary, that the early settlers in the area have seen the highness of altitude of both mountains. It is this perspective that these two giant natural features appear more striking as landmarks to the immediate universe of these early settlers. The palaeoenvironment of the former plain made them farmers of the plain and fishermen of the rivers and coast. It is probably for the same reason that the sun and the moon played both as “ari”, the “mikapata a aldo at bulan” in sustaining their dependency of livelihood and the intricate weaving of their belief system toward their old kapangpangan land.

Cross-section of earth’s crust beneath Central Luzon, showing how the subducted oceanic plate caused the 1990 earthquake which eventually activated Mt. Pinatubo in 1991. Mt. Arayat remains inactive.

THEORETICAL ANATOMY OF A VOLCANIC AND SUBDUCTION ZONE



Magma is generated at subduction zones where dense oceanic plates are pushed under lighter continental plates.



FOLK ART AS THE PROLETARIAT'S ATTEMPT AT FINE ART

THE COMMON FOLK HAVE LIMITED MONEY
AND LIMITED EDUCATION,
BUT UNLIMITED TIME AND UNLIMITED IMAGINATION

By Robby Tantingco

Folk art exists because high culture is inaccessible.

When the moneyed principales purchased silver fittings for the friar's retablo, the folks in the barrio who wanted a similar thing for their chapel looked for cheaper alternatives, and that's how they found yellow brass and invented pukpuk.

For over 300 years, the Spaniards kept the Bible out of reach, only giving the Indios scriptural installments of readings, homilies and quotations. Not quite content with piece-meal salvation, the common folk memorized these glimpses into God's Word, put them together and produced their own Bible, the pasyon.

Thus, folk art is a proletarian attempt to recreate the art of the rich, using whatever resources are available to them. Folk art is in a way also a protest against the inaccessibility of high culture. And sometimes, revenge is sweet because folk arts far outnumber and even outlast high culture. In some instances, folk art is even more beautiful.

Beauty is, of course, in the eye of the beholder. Still, we gasp at the exquisite detail of an ivory santo imported from Spain or Mexico, but we react the same way when we see the misshapen form of an antique Bohol santo. The symmetry of a Shakespearean sonnet can be found in the measured cadences of a Totoy Bato polosa. And who can really tell the difference between a Spanish nougat and a turrone de kasoy? I, for one, prefer the taste of a slightly burnt bringhi to the blandness of a paella.

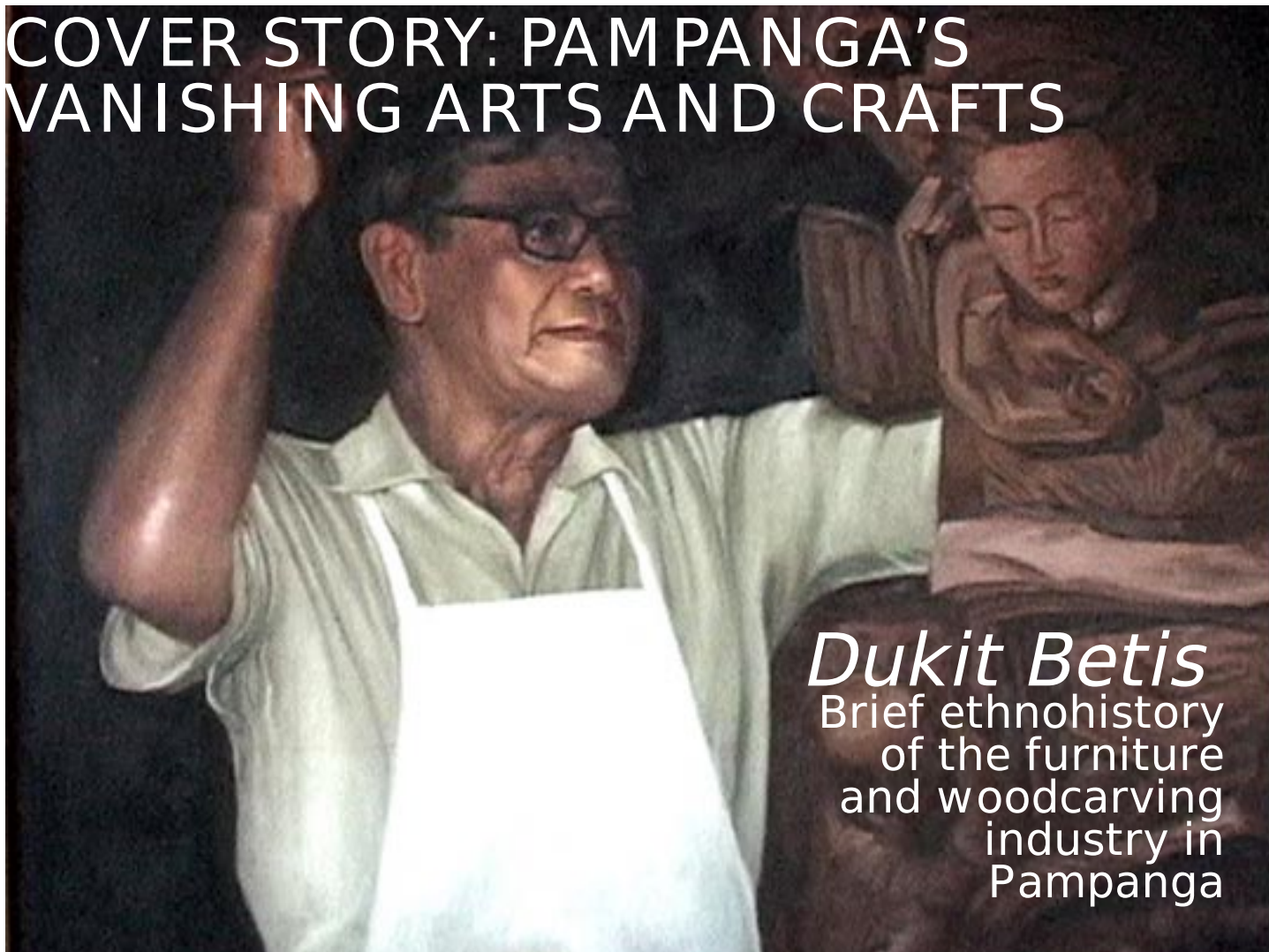
High culture, wrote Ernest van den Haag, is "entirely dominated by people with more than average prestige, power and income, by the elite as a group." If that is the case, then folk art is the people's own institution. Folk art democratizes art; it allows the poor to experience the pleasure of art appreciation that otherwise only the wealthy and the educated have a monopoly of. It is an instrument for breaking down the barriers between the aristocracy and the masses. Folk art should not be mistaken for mass culture, which is the vulgarization of art. When designs and creations become mass-produced, like those accompanying brand names and product lines, that's mass culture.

The German for mass culture is kitsch, and kitschy folk art definitely is not. The papier mache Nativity dolls of Apung Eloy will never be displayed in malls and department stores but they will look perfect in a grassy island on an intersection in Brgy. Cutcut. Kitsch is not inherent in the dolls; they become kitschy only when they are put in a place they're not supposed to be.

Nowadays, the rich descend on the barrios to buy folk artworks and display them in their mansions and palaces. How ironic that the poor who have been deprived of access to high culture have produced folk art that now become fixtures of high culture. Folk art has not only liberated the poor, but has also invaded the rich.

The revolution has finally triumphed in, of all places, art.

COVER STORY: PAMPANGA'S VANISHING ARTS AND CRAFTS



Dukit Betis Brief ethnohistory of the furniture and woodcarving industry in Pampanga

Juan Flores of Sta. Ursula, Betis carved and installed the three large wood and glass chandeliers in the Ceremonial Hall of the Malacañang Palace in 1979. Below, bamboo woodcarving made in Mexico, Pampanga in 1887, now on exhibit in a museum in Spain



By Joel Pabustan Mallari with Arnel David Garcia

One of the many specialized crafts known in the Philippines is woodcarving and wood sculpture. This area actually covers a wide range of wooden art pieces, from the Spanish-era religious images (variously called as *malasantu*, *santo*, *rebutu*) to the modern pieces of furniture now being exported abroad. Presently, fine woodcarvers in the Philippines include the *manlililok* of Paete in Laguna, the *Ifugaos* of the Cordillera region, and the *Maranaos* and *Tausugs* of Mindanao. In Pampanga, the most recognized woodcarvers collectively come from the *mandukit* of the old Betis district of Guagua.

Betis' role in Luzon history

As mentioned by John Larkin in his book *The Pampangans*, Betis was one of the 11 most important towns (with Lubao, Macabebe, Sasmuan, Guagua, Bacolor, Apalit, Arayat, Candaba, Porac and Mexico) at the beginning of the Spanish Period in Luzon. In the past, Betis was once a pueblo

or town, annexed by Guagua only in 1904. Among the old barrios which originally composed this former town are San Juan Bautista, San Juan Nepomuceno, San Nicolas, San Agustin with its *Sitio Virgen de los Remedios*, San Miguel, Sta. Ines and Sta. Ursula. Most of them are situated on the old riverbank area of southern Pampanga. In an 1853 report, Sta. Ursula was not yet listed among the six early barrios of Betis recognized that time. Fray Diego Bergaño cited Betis seven times in his 1732 version of the *Vocabulario* giving significant mention of the town's early role as entrepot before going to Guagua, Bacolor and Mexico which is most likely via the old Betis River. In fact, Fray Gaspar de San Agustin accounted in his *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, 1565-1615, that Betis was the most fortified fort throughout Luzon. The old riverbanks of Betis and Lubao were Muslim settlements where they once thrived. Betis' famous palisade fort was immedi-

ately copied in the construction of Intramuros after 1572, when only Lubao and Betis resisted the Spanish conquerors. The presence of the old rivers of Betis and Lubao made them strategic not only for economic reason but also for military purposes. In Sasmuan, old fishermen in the area still recalls a long strip of coastal area (from Guagua to Sasmuan) and an old river named Paglalabuan.

Paglalabuan beginning

In the district of Betis, the village which produces most if not all of the sculptured pieces and carved furniture is Sta. Ursula. This village, said to be the oldest, is located on the old riverbank area. It was known before as Paglalabuan, as well as "pulu", "danuman", "sadsaran", an "island", a "water edge community" and a "port". An old placename found among old maps and also as part of an oral folk history literally meant a deposition area of silt. The local folks say that, in the 1980s, pieces of old Chinese blue and

white porcelains were found at the bottom the river. In the 1970s after the great flood of 1972, a tsunami (probably the great tsunami of 1976) struck Bataan's eastern coastline causing the rivers of Pampanga particularly the Pasak River to drain, exposing the step-like slopes of the riverbank's bottommost section and reveal-

ing old shipwreck and downed carrier trucks which look like the vehicles used in the last World War.

The old folks in the area believe that their village is the oldest in the tradition of pamandukit (woodcarving) and pamaganluagi (wood working) in the Kapampangan province. Besides, it is also known as a home of the old dadaras (or mandarar, the traditional bangka makers). In the past they supplied most of the various bangka (boats) in Pampanga and nearby coastal and riverbank villages in Orani, Dinalupihan, Samal, Hermosa, Abucay (which also produced this type of boats), all of Bataan, Kalookan, Malabon, Navotas (especially in Sta.Cruz), Valenzuela, the provinces of Rizal and Bulacan (Pamarauan, Hagonoy, Binuangan), Cavite, Batangas and as far as Mindoro. Their boats were carved out canoe types known before as balutu

WOODCARVING THRIVED IN BETIS LONG BEFORE JUAN FLORES HOGGED THE LIMELIGHT IN THE 1970S. PRE-HISPANIC BOAT CARVERS STARTED THE TRADITION

(var. baroto). Collective memories of old folks (boat makers and woodcarvers) in this district and nearby areas still remember the time when the supply of logs and other timber materials flowed along the old Betis River (various tributaries of this old river were called "Ilug Palumo", the downstream part of the now Pasak River; and Karalaga

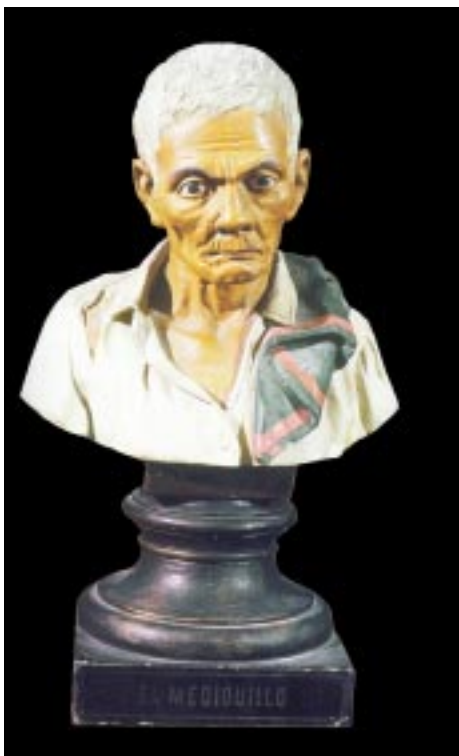
River for the part running from Sta.Ines going to Plaza Burgos, the one that connects with the old Dalan Bapor River in downtown Guagua). This supply came from the forested upper Pampanga area and eastern Bataan along the foothills of the Zambales Mountains. Dadaras or mandarar (boatmakers) regularly received rough hollowed logs called baul which were then turned into fine carved boats. According to old folks of Sta.Ursula, expert boat makers are called as matenakan dadaras. To this day, the baul suppliers are called atseru (most likely derived from the Spanish term hacha, an ax type tool used for logging) while baul makers and loggers are both referred to as mamaul. Logs usually come from Bataan, especially in Kuló, Dinalupihan and Hermosa.

Pampanga 17th-18th century folk fine arts

Philippine furniture absorbed artistic influences from different cultures who made contacts with the islands. As Professor Regalado Trota Jose noted, many 17th century pieces manifest touches of Chinese design,

while later 18th century pieces are known to have inlaid designs. Rococo forms, fashionable European trend from French, Victorian and new American designs became prominent. Furniture craft achieved a level of excellence during the 17th and 18th centuries. Central Luzon specialized in bone inlaying like those found in Betis, Bacolor and Apalit, while the Visayas produced deftly carved narra pieces. Wood carving was already recognized as folk art in the Laguna towns of Paete and Pakil as well as in Betis. If Paete has perfected the art of carving images of saints from native hardwoods, and Pakil is known for its exquisite wood filigree, Betis woodcarvers excell in furniture. Mariano Henson noted in his several editions of The Province of Pampanga and Its Towns that "in gold and silver smithery the people of Betis were unrivaled until the 18th century for their own art". According to Peter Garcia, 68-year-old mandukit in Betis, Kapampangan craftsmen ahead of their generation were already masters in the art of bone inlaying. Instead of using pearls and garing (ivory), they substituted good qualities of cow bones. Furthermore, M.Henson quotes:

"In the matter of carving images, altars, church ornaments, furnitures, inlaying with mother-of-pearl, bones, and other hardwoods, gilding with gold leaf, exacting carpentry, decorative art, and design, painting of religious motifs and theatre drop curtains, the people of Betis during the 17th and 18th centuries again are mentioned here to be easily the masters in the art of their own".



El Mediquillo, polychromatic woodcarving made in Sta. Rita, Pampanga in the 1800s



La Comadrone, also made in Sta. Rita, Pampanga in the 1800s

Flores' art: a fusion of old and new

By the 19th century, furniture makers were producing works in Peñaranda, Nueva Ecija; Baliuag, Bulacan; Paete, Laguna; Bacolor and Betis in Pampanga; and in Malabon area. A contemporary influence of classical tradition of woodworking in sculpture and furniture began to be felt in the 1950s brought about by Juan Flores, a native of Sta. Ursula. Born on the 9th of September 1900, he became a famous sculptor and furniture maker at a young age. He learned the crafts of carpentry and wood carving, furniture making and sculpture, especially the making of malasantos. He was so talented that his reputation grew in the national art scene. He once made a bust of President Manuel L. Quezon, and that of Secretary of Justice and Finance Gregorio Araneta. He was able to study the malasantos and antiques all over the Philippines especially in Bicol, Marinduque, Leyte, Cebu and Surigao. His specialization developed by fusing indigenous practice he learned in Sta. Ursula, together with his passion for European religious art and from what he learned in his observations around the country with Secretary Araneta. Hence, he gained respect among several furniture



Two Pulubi polychromatic wood figurines done in Sta. Rita, Pampanga in the 1800s now on exhibit in a museum in Spain

name is equated to the creative and distinct technique and designs in furniture making and sculpture of Betis, which become a standard in the art development in Pampanga.

Betis' "Modern Antiques"

Travelers along the highways of Olongapo-Gapan Road and the matuang dalan of Bacolor-Guagua feast their eyes on the several display of shops selling "modern antique" (antique inspired woodcrafts) pieces from simple household furniture to the various pieces of statues. Most of these displayed pieces come from Sta. Ursula where the mandukit are seen doing various creations. Many workshops offer varied specialization; some are

known to carve arañas or chandeliers like those installed in Malacañang Palace, which show all the fine details that imitate the gracefulness and malleability of metals. There are religious images and figures of saints, called santu, malasantu or rebultu in general; other specialize in the manufacture of wooden karo, the traditional church retablo, and other church furnishings; some are dedicated workers of home fixtures which include tukador, painadora, tremor, almario, atay bed (named after the known 19th century Chinese craftsman, Eduardo Ah Tay), various tables which include lamesa (adopted high table in contrast to the dulang a local low dining table), consolas (side tables), escritorios (office tables) and lavaderas (bedroom tables with porcelain wash); various cabinets and cabinet-like pieces such as lansena (a cupboard with shelves and drawers used to store food stuffs), platera and the traditional baul, wooden chest including later versions like the comoda and cajonerias, various sizes of aparadul (or aparadur, used for safekeeping of documents in churches and as cabinet for clothes) and painadora (dresser

makers in the country. His art is inspired by pictures of masterpieces of Western art. Among his styles are the incorporation of ornamental motifs derived from local plants as well as locally evolved design patterns like bulabulaklak, kulakulate. To date, his

known to carve arañas or chandeliers like those installed in Malacañang Palace, which show all the fine details that imitate the gracefulness and malleability of metals. There are religious images and figures of saints, called santu, malasantu or rebultu in general; other specialize in the manufacture of wooden karo, the traditional church retablo, and other church furnishings; some are dedicated workers of home fixtures which include tukador, painadora, tremor, almario, atay bed (named after the known 19th century Chinese craftsman, Eduardo Ah Tay), various tables which include lamesa (adopted high table in contrast to the dulang a local low dining table), consolas (side tables), escritorios (office tables) and lavaderas (bedroom tables with porcelain wash); various cabinets and cabinet-like pieces such as lansena (a cupboard with shelves and drawers used to store food stuffs), platera and the traditional baul, wooden chest including later versions like the comoda and cajonerias, various sizes of aparadul (or aparadur, used for safekeeping of documents in churches and as cabinet for clothes) and painadora (dresser

THE FEW REMAINING BOAT CARVERS

Matenakan dadaras refers to the known expert carvers of balutu (traditional canoe type boats). Many of the last generation of dadaras (boat makers) in the old Paglalabuan village (now Sta. Ursula, Betis) have died and only a few of them are left. Among the well remembered matenakan dadaras include Avelino "Tatang Iling" Dayrit, Bienvenido "Bebing" Layug, brothers Cornelio "Eliun" and Pedro "Endong" Cayan; Gasa brothers (Roman "Tatang Duman" and Arcadio), Manuel Garcia, Cecilio Gatus, Cayan brothers (Antonio "Pusad", Fernando, Venancio "Bana" and Benigno "Bening"), the "barak" Layug brothers (Cenon Layug,

Jacinto layug, Bonifacio "Pasiu" and Poncing), Monico Visda, Felix Dayrit and Dodu Pabustan. Among them only Tatang Iling, Poncing and Pasiu are still around. In Bataan, a certain Pedro Macalinao, also a Kapampangan is said to be a matenakan dadaras living in Mabatang of Abucay. He is considered by the people in this province as one of the old experts in boat making until before Mt. Pinatubo erupted in 1991. On the other hand, notable atseru, supplier of baul (rough dug-out logs) include Leony Cruz and Kulas Leongson and boat dealers include Francisco Sibug, Macario Castro, and Enrique "Diki" Santos to name a few. (J PM)



Above, the Guest Room of the Malacanang Palace (formerly Imelda Marcos' private suite) has Renaissance-style paneling and woodwork done by Juan Flores of Betis, Pampanga. The Mindanao Room (insert, top), which serves as the First Family's private chapel, and the Visayas Room (insert, bottom), which is the First family's private library, both have carved ornamentation done by Flores and other Betis woodcarvers. (Manuel Quezon III, *Malacañang Palace: Official Illustrated History* [Manila: Studio 5 Publishing])



KAPAMPANGAN WOODCARVING TERMS CIRCA 1732

Fray Diego Bergano O.S.A., in his *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampango en Romance* which was first published in 1732 records some of the early terms used in the field of sculpting and furniture making. These include the following descriptions:

Wood work and forms

Arongarong, the notch in a woodwork;
Baul, a thing manufactured in a rough stage, like a banca or a wood carving, or a sculpture not yet perfected...Beulan, or binaul, what is in draft or rough stage...;

Lapat, the fit of wood, the joint, the adjustment...;

Linguit, moulding,... Lininguit, what is chiseled into a moulding...; Lininguitan, the material;

Mayulyul, is also said of a pole/wood, badly planed, for lack of a good tool;

Tatal, splinters, chips, shavings...

Matatal, to produce splinters, chips, like a piece of wood being planed, or axed...;

Tigpas, wood that is cut with a heavy stroke... Tigpastigpas, a thing, like a finger ring, or glass with many designs, or a piece of wood cut into three or four pieces;

Wood character

Salimoot, said of a tawny timber, whose grains, or veins are not straight, but misalisi, opposite each other, and such timbers are to be avoided when making a banca;

Saling-ga, grains /veins of wood;

Yupit, said of a wood, or piece of lumber that has a defect, that is, not of equal thickness, not usable in manufacturing something, v. g. that should have uniform or similar wood...;

Wood working processes

Abas, to make similar, like, in a gown, sculpture, or works...;

Aglit, carve or work with a small knife, or another tool, done not with heavy strokes, but with the hand in a to and fro motion...;

As-suit, sa-suit, sinuit, sunuit, to open, as in removing a spine, cut asunder / open an abscess, or remove a half buried stone, or to carve out the eyes...;

Làbac, to make holes, like on the ground, or on a piece of wood, badly planed...;

Minig-guas, to make designs on wood or wood; Binig-guas, the object. Mabig-guas, to become carved or designed on. Cabig-guasan, an individual carving. Pibig-guasan, the shavings, or the place;

Salunđa, to move, labor, work contrarywise, like going uphill, a barber shaving close to the scalp, , the carpenter when he is planing against the grain of the wood...;

Simulmul, to break into fragments, to ravel, like cloth, or wood not well planed...; Uquil, cut obliquely, or across, or crosswise, like a piece of wood, or clothing...;

Other related terms

Balandang, the flying away of shaving, splinters and chips during the cutting, planing, hewing, carving a piece of wood...;

Bucbuc, weevils in wood or bamboo...;

Casandiquilan, to make, or cause to be excelling, as in sculpture;

Lutes, to finish what was begun, to saw wood, cut poles, or build a house...;

Macasaut, is said, either of what is there, without serving it, or doing nothing with it, like an axe, or chisel, that is there ready for the work, without anybody telling it anything...;

Talangdang, to stray, or be thrown off, like big sparks from red-hot iron in the forge, or splinters from wood that is being cut with an axe;

Talapis, a thing cut up unequally, that is, either wider, or narrower than what is desired, like a piece of wood, or board badly sawed, with one end, wide, and the other end, narrow...;

Utap, dust produced by woodborers...;

Utas, separated, like wood that has been cut, then consequently chopped into pieces...;

Working implements like licup, lucub, pat, catam, bucsi etc. have been mentioned as working tools in sculpting and woodworking.. A pat generally refers to a chisel, while licup and lucub are both types of centering chisels. Bucsí and catam are plane types used for smoothing wood surfaces. Lagari and balibol are the saw and drill (or borer) respectively; while daras is an adze, palacol is an axe in general and atác for the iron axe all used for dug-out and cutting of logs. (J PM)

chest), chairs like the butaca (planter's chair), bangku or kapiyas, gallinera, etc. Fine sculpture in the form of deep bas relief art pieces and frames are also produced. But one of the many identifications that characterize Betis creations is the overall projection of antiquated finish in every artwork meticulously sculpted. Among the known contemporary mandukit in this district to date, include Willy Layug, Boyet Flores, Peter Garcia, Salvador Gatus, Joel Tolentino and the craftsmen of successful entrepreneurs Myrna Bituin.

The old tradition of boat carving apparently started of pamandukit and pamaganluagi in the province. Many of the last generation of matenakan dadaras in this old village with families still living here are known to have prospered in the



Reliève, a type of woodcarving where images seem to emerge from the wood, done by Juan Flores of Betis

field of pamandukit and pamaganluagi in the country today. As Tatang Salvador Santos Gatus (53 yrs.old, son of a matenakan dadaras) quips, "matenakan

la king obrang dutung, ania dakal anluagi, dadaras at mandukit ka ring tau keti kanita pa man". Thus the art of fine woodworking and sculpture was already flourishing even before the time of the master sculptor Juan Flores. At the height of the Huk movement in the province, this barrio used to have a talipampan as "alipagpag" or "alipatpat" after the noisy activity of boat making and woodcarving in the area. The term baul was already recorded by Fray Diego Bergano in his compilation of early 18th century Kapampangan glossaries as "a thing manufactured in a rough

stage, like a banca or a wood carving, or a sculpture not yet perfected...", which consequently confirms the antiquity of boat making, furniture making and woodcarving in the Kapampangan region.



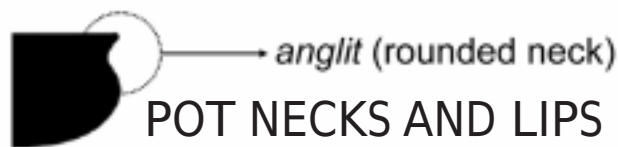
THE DYING *KÚRAN* TECHNOLOGY OF CAPALANGAN

THE NAMES OF THE CAPITAL OF ZAMBALES (IBA) AND THE CAPITAL OF BATAAN (BALANGA) ARE ANCIENT KAPAMPANGAN POTTERY WORDS

By Joel Pabustan Mallari



banga (water pot) *kuran* (rice pot) *balanga* (viand pot)



POT NECKS AND LIPS

Anglit is known in three different ways: (a) old folks in Capas and Bamban usually refer to this term as a set of any earthen pot or pan with an earthen

(pot-maker is maniba). This is the etymology of a village in Mabalacat called Iba (renamed since), and the capital town of Zambales.

stove; (b) in north-eastern Pampanga and southern Nueva Ecija, it refers to the bending detail of the neck without the sharp asang, and (c) in Sto. Tomas and Capalangan, it is known as a 1- to 2-gatang (volume) *kúran*.

Another ancient name for earthen pots is iba or tiba

A POTTED HISTORY

Earthenwares in the Kapampangan Region refer to any form of earthen vessels found and most likely produced locally. Scholars like Esperanza Gatbonton note that this low-fired type of earthenware was man's earliest invention. One of the most widespread earthen vessels is the lowly *kúran*, known in many languages as palayok. It is the round-bottomed, wide-mouthed native cooking pot.

Today it is the town of Sto. Tomas that is known for its thriving pottery industry, but oral and written town histories recorded by Luther Parker (1900s), Pedro Arcilla (1916), Mariano Henson (1950), etc. reveal that many other towns and villages in the Kapampangan Region also once had their respective pottery industries, ranging from household to commercial levels of production. These are: the old area of

Calibutbut-Telabastagan, certain villages in Floridablanca town, old Tiba village (now part of Brgy. Tabun) of Mabalacat, most of the southern barrios of Lubao and Sasmuan, and pocket villages of San Leonardo in Nueva Ecija and Victoria in Tarlac.

CAPALANGAN-GATBUCA KÚRAN

In Capalangan (Apalit, Pampanga) and Gatbuca (Calumpit, Bulacan), two barrios that once harbored ancient Kapampangan settlements, they still manufacture globular pots which they generically call kúran, done by craftsmen they call mangkukúran.

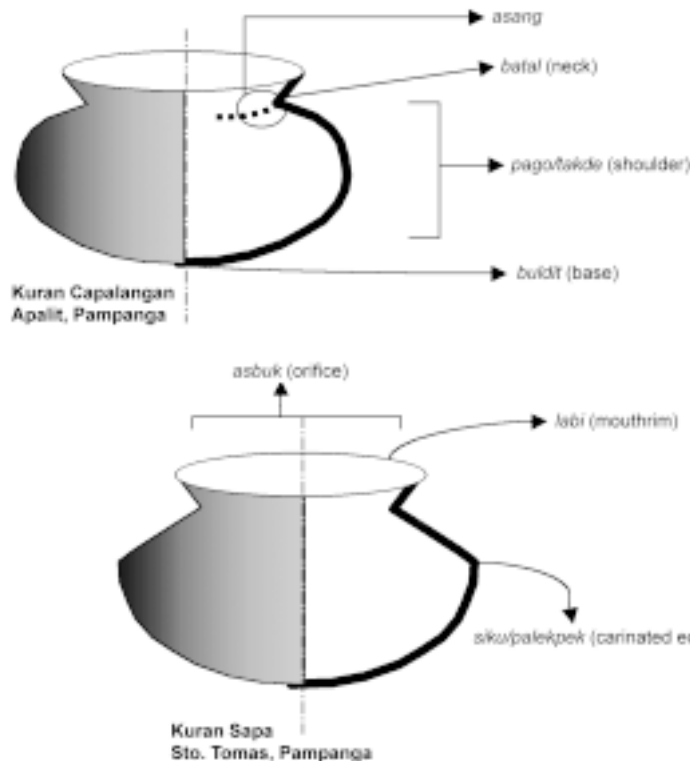
Oral tradition has it that the mangkukúran originally came from Capalangan, their descendants resettling in Gatbuca only later. These mangkukúran claim that their ancestors pioneered the production of these earthenwares, which are generally classified into three types, namely, kúran, banga and balanga.

Kúran has a small mouth opening and is used exclusively for rice cooking. It is often considered as the counterpart of the palaik/palayok as the type is known in many Philippine languages. Its sizes include manialup, mangatang and mamati.

The balánga is the same shape as the kúran but has a wider mouth. It is usually used for cooking soupy dishes like the sinigang.

Lastly, the bánga has a higher lip margin. Also called paldanuman, this pot is used exclusively for storing liquids like drinking water.

Based on size, pots are classified as daba, katamtaman, malati or bungsu;



meanwhile, the term kalámba (var. karámba and lumbu) refers to a large kúran or a large banga.

Other variants include tuliasi/taliasi, kamáu, bibingan/aan or urnu, pasu, losa, lumbu, silio, pinggan, tunauan gingtu, allof which have different shapes and sizes of orifice unlike any of the first three types. Most tuliasi, for example, have two handles also made of fired clay. Tunauang gingtu are the common large crucibles (10 to 300 cm in diameter) with cover, used by the miners and smelters of Norzagaray and Angat in Bulacan. Kamáu is the earthen pan that closely resembles the wide-mouthed plant pot.

Other earthenwares currently pro-

duced in the Capalangan-Gatbuca area are kurang-kurangan (also known as kalakuti and terno); kalang (stove); panuktukan (bird's bowl), bibingka'an (used for making rice cake), etc. Kalang has many types, including kalang uling (charcoal stove) and kalang Japon (very similar to kalang uling, probably introduced during World War II).

WHERE THEY GET THE PILA

In general, earthenwares are made of pila (pilak), or clay produced in the pinac, Kapampangan for a swampy area and a clay field, or in open fields, mountains or riverbanks, or in mounds formed by ane (termites), or in low watery valleys (alog and bana). Potters from this region generally label clay into three types according to texture, which can also be identified by color characteristic. All clay are usually termed as pila (lowland speakers) or

pilak (upland speakers), which includes the common clay and the fine black clay called kapalangan. Malutung pila/gabun refers to the reddish clay which when fired assumes a dark red color. Most mangkukuran use the mapekat/malagkit type of clay which they say is better than what they call malabo (pamasu), which is used specifically in making pasú (plant pots and jars) in Sto. Tomas and in making lariu (bricks) in Cansinala, Apalit.

Basically, the materials used in the manufacture of pottery are the different types of clay, and the proper proportion of temper and water. Temper, which provides and gives the thickening effect of the material known to them as limsak, prevents

BALINTAWAK-RED POTTERY

Old designs—incised, excised, stamped, or in applique form—found among old pottery sherds recovered in Porac, Guagua, Candaba, and Lubao, are associated with the Metal Age of Philippine prehistory; some are contemporaneous to 13th to 16th century Southeast Asian tradegoods. Traditional red-slip pots produced in Apalit are called mekulul, from kulul which refers to the suspension of fine earth and water, usually called balintauak (reddish color) or dilo (yellowish color). Archaeological findings show a post-c.5000 BP to Pre-2300 BP settlement using red-slipped pottery; the inhabitants occupied grounds of about 3.5 meters below the present surface area of Babo Balukbuk, which is now a plateau in Porac, Pampanga. In Southeast Asian prehistory, red-slip pottery is one of the major cultural markers associated with Austronesians, the seafaring people of long ago. The Austronesians of Oceania and South-east Asia spoke or had ancestors who spoke any one of the Austronesian languages spread over half the globe, from Madagascar to Easter Island.



breakage during firing. Tempering material can be abu (ash) and mapinung balas (fine sand), banlik, kapalangan, balas, etc.

Cooking pots produced in these areas are globular, thin, durable and red-slipped finish. These kúran are burnished—called mekaius gilid (and kilub and buldit)—which is done using a metal blade known as lilik.

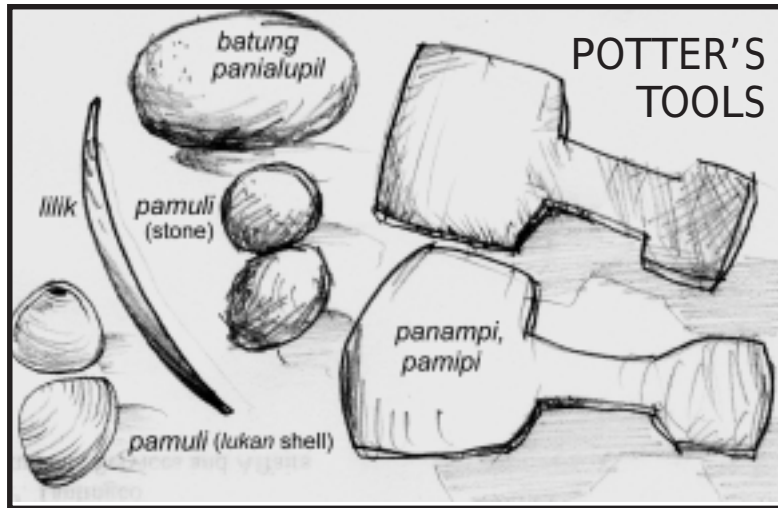
The right season and sourcing sites are also a major consideration for them. Inexperienced sourcing of clay leads to maumuk (when food cooked in this pot tastes like mud).

Manampi, mamipi

The manufacturing phase is where craft specialization manifests itself: after sourcing of clay and other raw materials, task assignments are distributed to various specialists. Mangiling, magma, mamabit, mangilis, kukulyut and maglutu are just some of the many specialized assignments. Linis or pamangaias (burnishing) and the addition of a slipping solution known as kulul are part of the finishing process. It is usually applied at the exterior surface not

necessarily reaching the mouth rim of a pot. This kulul is a solution of fine earth and water, its color ranging from yellow ochre (known as dilo) to vermillion orange (like balintauak), its characteristic background color turning into a rich venetian red technically known as “red slip” after being fired. If a pot is properly fired it is termed as málutu (well cooked)—quite possibly the origin of the word malútu, red.

Present-day old mangkukúran in the Capalangan-Gatbuca area like the Mutucs,



Torreses and Baluyuts say that their thin-walled kúran wares are properly and finely paddled (mápukepuk/ mátampi). This prevents pamanulas (seeping/leaking), which makes their pots more durable and perfect for storing liquids and for cooking.

All of the dried earthenwares are fired usually at a low temperature of 500°C - 800°C. Each kiln site varies in structure. Most of the kilns from Capalangan and Gatbuca are rectangular semi-bonfire-type. But most of

them still use the old technique of pamandapug (open firing and pit firing) which takes only about one hour of pamanamban (burning of áre, dutung-dutung, ‘dried pieces of timber’ covered by ábu). The freshly molded pots are usually dried on a bed of áre (dried rice hay), kept for days under the lambale or sulip, the lower section of old bungalow or pinaud houses which is also the workshop area, to keep them away from the direct rays of the sun (air-dried pots are more durable than sun-dried).

KAPAMPANGAN POTTERY SURVIVES IN NUEVA ECIJA AND TARLAC

Traditional pot makers in Sto. Tomas, Pampanga have created new designs and forms in response to increased market demands here and abroad. Meanwhile, in the adjacent town of Apalit, the traditional art of pot making has steadily waned, as a result of little or no innovation. It is the pot makers of San Leonardo, Nueva Ecija and Victoria, Tarlac who seem to have struck a balance between innovation and tradition. They create new

pottery designs according to market demands while still faithfully following the traditional pottery lines of Capalangan, Apalit. In fact, the mangkukuran (potters) of Victoria have labeled the traditional kuran (common rice pot) as kapangpangan, the term used not only by the Kapampangans along the Tarlac-Nueva Ecija boundary also by the Ilokanos, Pangasinenses and Tagalogs in the area.

LINGUISTIC CLUES IN A POT

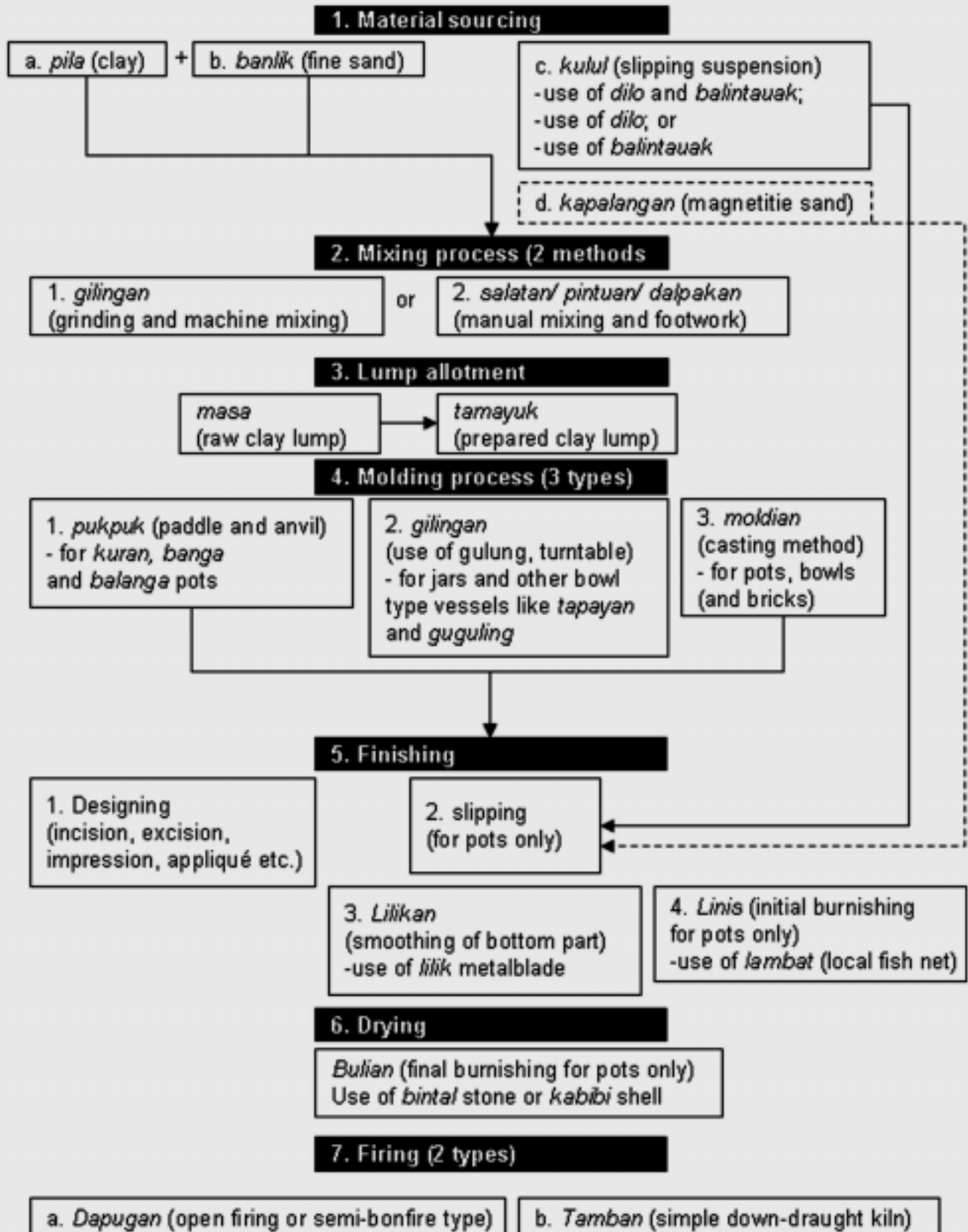
A 14th-15th century-old pot was recovered in an archaeological excavation in Calatagan, Batangas. Several speculations arose from the old undeciphered “poetry lines” inscribed around the shoulder of this pot, one of which was the alleged common ancestry of Kapampangan, Tagalog, Bikolano and Ilokano scripts. Morphologically, the pot is very similar to the unfinished pot types manufactured by Capalangan potters which they call as babaulan, from the term baul literally “unfinished hammered pot.”



CAPALANGAN MEANS BLACK SAND, NOT METAL BLADES

Ancient potters in this old barrio of Capalangan practiced a unique technique of ‘black-slipping,’ as recalled by local historian Michael Pangilinan, who explains that this technology involved mixing clay and kapalangan (“black sand,” said to be a rich source of magnetite) and applying this magnetite-rich suspension to the interior part of kúran. He adds that this method of slipping is used to make the pot’s interior layer durable and dark, for some unknown reason. The process is also being done before firing the dried molded kúran. Oral tradition in the area maintains that their barrio was named after the black sand (the term is also mentioned by Dr. Jaime Veneracion in his book, Kasaysayan ng Bulacan) and not the abundance of metal blades (palang).

THE COMPLICATED PROCESS IN MAKING AN UNCOMPLICATED POT





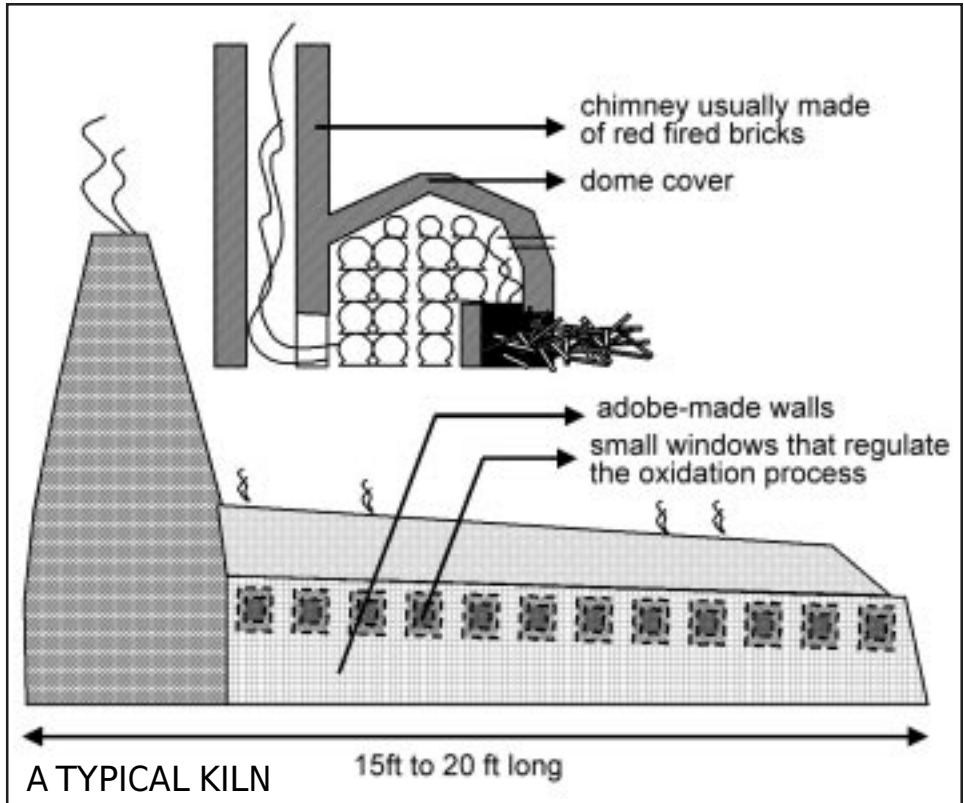
POTTERS' TOWN

PAMPANGA'S SMALLEST TOWN HAS 38 RIVERS, RIVULETS AND CREEKS, WHICH EXPLAINS THE ABUNDANCE OF CLAY

By Ryan P. Santiano and Arnel D. Garcia

pasû terms

anglit
balanga
banga
bigandier
bunsu
guguling
iba
kalakuti takap
kalamba/ karamba
kalang
kalang dutung and
kalang uling (all earthen stoves)
kalang japon
kalang kusut
kalang uling
kamáu
kuran/ palaio
kurang-kurangan
kurang-kurangan (olden toys of
cooking pots and accessories)
lumbu
manialup
oya/ olla
paldanuman
panuktukan
pasu (old soup bowls)
radoma
sigangan
simbiri (decorated plant pots)
suklub
takuri
tapaian
terno
tuaka
tuliasi/ taliasi
tumpang
tupak
upu-upo
urnu/ bibingkaan



Pampanga has 20 towns and 2 cities; Porac is the largest town (343.12 square km.); the smallest is Sto. Tomas (21.29 sq. km.) Originally called Baliuag (tardy) from the word maliuag (panayan a malwat, or long wait), because of the townspeople's notoriety for always being late for Mass, the town was renamed on December 21, 1792 in honor of St. Thomas the Apostle. The town, despite being the smallest in the province, has 38 rivers in only seven barangays: Sto. Rosario(Pau), Moras Dela Paz, San Matias, Sto. Niño, (Sapa), San Vicente, San Bartolome and Poblacion.

One of the best known industries in Sto. Tomas is pamangauang pasu (pottery industry). This industry is rooted in Sapa (now Barangay Sto. Niño). The center of pottery in this area is along Quirino St. (formerly called Canlas Subd.), also known as camalig (a low-roofed structure where pots are made). Ninety percent of the

residents along Quirino Street are potters, e.g., the Mercados, Castros, Basilius, Afans, Gomezes, Pinedas, Baluyuts, Anastacios, Regalas, Torreses and Bonuses.

According to local folks we interviewed (Ricardo Afan, 60, Rodolfo "Apung Rudy" Torres, 66, Armando Castro, 58 and Rodrigo Castro, 85) the first ever potter in Sapa was Apung Sindung Mercado who also introduced to the area the art of making pilun (jar for making molasses). The pot makers here likewise made oia or oya (obviously after the Spanish olla)- lidless water container, as well as tapaian or tapayan - large long-necked earthen water containers.

During the early times, oya, tapayan, pilun and radoma (labadura?) were made by using tools like tepan - pamikpik/ pamukpuk, kuliut - paniagka, sepua-pilunan nung nukarin sasalud ing danum potang gagauang pasu.



THE GUITARS OF GUAGUA

Gitarang tramu makers use wooden clips (sipit) to hold the lining (regala) as it dries in the sun. The soundboard (lúpa) is usually made of danara, langka, kalantas or palotsina wood, while the back brace (baral) is made of tangili, apitong or palusapis wood. The inner lining, on the other hand, uses yantuk, gumamela or balibago wood.

KAPAMPANGAN GUITAR-MAKERS INSIST THE CEBU GUITAR INDUSTRY ORIGINATED WITH MIGRANTS FROM GUAGUA

By Joel Pabustan Mallari
with Francis Eric C. Balagtas

Guitar is a universally popular string instrument played by plucking or strumming. The guitar is the proverbial instrument of chivalrous courtship. Pictures of swains serenading their lady loves under their balconies guitar are common. The word gitara or gitara can be traced to the Greek kithara, but there is no similarity in the structure or sound of the two instruments. The guitar in its present form originated in Spain in the 16th century and spread all over the world. As part of the offshoot tradition, the Philippine archipelago was once part of this evolutionary influence from Spain, since the archipelago was colonized

for more than three centuries coinciding with the beginning of the guitar tradition from Spain.

In Mariano Proceso Pabalan Byron's zarzuela "Ing Managpe" which is the first zarzuela written in any Philippine language in 1900, he mentioned the archaic word kalaskas as an example of an old musical instrument probably belonging to the guitar family. In an 1860 edition of Fray Diego Bergaño's vocabulary collections, he listed cudiapi as a musical instrument similar to a harp, which he pointed as no longer extant during his time. Cudiapi or kudyapi is an example of pre-Hispanic native guitar

in the Philippines.

Folk historians from Pampanga claim the original century-old tradition of gitara-making is the old street of San Anton, Guagua, Pampanga called Tramú. This local street name is a borrowed Spanish term which means "flight of stairs" or "railroad". It is in fact metaphorically compared to the railroad-like view of the pasin (fret board) of the Kapampangan-made gitara locally called the gitarang akostik, (the traditional acoustic guitar). Several name-parts of this native guitar prove the antiquity of its beginnings since many of its basic parts as well as the process of production are

Kapampangan words derived from Spanish. Local traditions dictate the early beginning of this industry and that it is product of in-depth ingenuity and timing. Townfolks say that it was a certain Matuang Bacani who made the initial discovery of gitara-making. It was then transferred to the older clans of the Lumanogs, which was begun by Apung Angel who became the son-in-law of the guitar pioneer Bacani, and followed by the older families of San Anton like the Garcias, Dizons, Mallaris, Jucos, Manansalas etc. after it was successfully mastered. The story goes that Matuang Bacani found an old Spanish-made guitar floating on a nearby river of Tramu. Curiously he disassembled the dilapidated unit and tried to study and copy the pattern of framework production of, the traditional Spanish-made guitar. From this he was able to replicate it using indigenous materials like milk-base glue and local karutungan (wood materials). Later it was mass produced after an increased demand from the different Kapampangan towns like Macabebe, Bacolor and San Fernando. Thus the gitara-making tradition, became a part of the history of local industry. This old town of Guagua was at one time an important trading and cultural site not only to the local Kapampangans but also to the Chinese and other foreigners during Spanish Period as its rivers like the Dalan Bapor played a crucial role in the economic and political development of the region.

This standard instrument has six istring (strings) and tarasti (frets and fret wires) along the mangu and pasin (all parts of the brasu, the fingerboard) to indicate the position of the notes of the scale. The strings are tuned in fourths, with the exception of the interval between the fourth and fifth strings, which is the major third: E, A, D, G, B, E, the lowest string being an E in the middle register of the bass clef. The industry grew rapidly after the liberation until the 1980s. Historically, toward the mid-20th century the guitar was electrically amplified to compensate for its tonal weakness. Later it became a primary instrument of modern rock musicians. In its new role it underwent a change in anatomy. In Tramu, it is said that the start of its manufacture began before the 70s, and was called "elektrik gitar". Its folk features were abandoned in favor of a gaudy androgynous thing, thinner in the middle than a classical

gitarang akostik but sprouting a pair of tinseled pago (shoulders). Fortunately, the "elektrik gitar" failed to displace its noble ancestor. Simultaneously with its degradation by rock musicians, great guitar players accompanying pulusador, mang-gosu/mangalulua, manarana, up to the present have maintained its classical and folk traditions. Meanwhile numerous modern composers, including the Guagua-based band the Whitelies, a pop-rock balladeer, the Green Department and several other homegrown

flute. Later the introduction of guitars and bandurias further enriched their culture for music and of course the guitar industry. Unfortunately, the business died in Tarlac due to the high cost of raw materials and the increasing popularity of low priced Chinese-made guitars among Philippine local markets. This scenario greatly threatens the present manufacturers of Pampanga especially those of Guagua and Lubao (especially in San Juan, Sta. Monica, and Dau). Today, this industry still competi-

tively penetrates some of the key cities of the archipelago in Central Luzon (Tarlac and Olongapo), Baguio, Vigan, Metro Manila. It includes the customized orders of Pop-rock singer-composer Ramon "RJ" Jacinto, and are even sold in Cebu and Davao. Among the top-favorite designs include the classic guitar of Freddie Aguilar, the "Gibson-type" and the now much in demand "Nyoy Volante-design". Some of the body-types requested by buyers include the "ovation", "cut-out" and their various combination. Material types may come from the traditional all wooden body finish, to the fiber-cast finish. Sizes range from the international common size "junior", the bigger one called "senior", "mini" or "malati", "iukulele type" etc. Other stringed instruments manufactured by-orders include the banduria, tabina (octabina), piccolo, mandolin etc. Some gitarang akostik can have "pick-ups" to transmit its sound to nearby sound systems. Some have customized nylon-strings. The scarcity of raw materials hinders the future production and quality of this industry, since most of the present day gitaras source their materials from various hardwoods from demolished old houses, like apitong, tangili, palusapis, ipis



talents have written concertos for guitar and orchestra.

The tradition of gitara-making in Guagua has influenced the guitar industry in Tarlac (of the Bondoc families) and the now famous "Guitar Capital", Cebu. Traditions maintain that the pioneers of these places have their family roots from Guagua and Lubao. In Cebu, this industry favored the people greatly that even their performing arts have also evolved into a rich repertoire of songs and dances using instruments initially fashioned from bamboo and coconut shells like the subing bamboo

for the manufacture of arung-arung (heel) and mangu (neck); gumamela and yantuk for the regala; and langka, kalantas and palotsina for most of the kaha or body where they go as far as Nueva Ecija to have the right wood-type needed in the production. Despite the high price of mekanika (head mechanisms) and istring gitara (which are also imported from China) they still produce a conservative average of 14,000 guitars a month (in Tramo alone) which they think is a difficult task to maintain in the near future.



FLORIDABLANCA'S ALUMINUMWARE INDUSTRY

THE INDUSTRY IS SLOWLY RECOVERING FROM LAHAR DEVASTATION

By Florence Valencia

Aluminum's essential qualities of brilliance, strength, light weight, resistance to corrosion and ease of recycling have made it an unparalleled medium for design and creative engineering ever since its properties were first harnessed in the mid-19th century. Although it is the most abundant metal in the Earth's crust, aluminum is difficult to isolate, making it precious enough to be used for jewelry and small, delicate crafts once coveted by European royalty.

It was the Spaniards who brought the method of aluminumware-making here in the Philippines. Very little information can be gathered as to how the production flourished during its early years. But we now know that the small town of Floridablanca, Pampanga is where the industry first developed.

Hacienda Valdez

It was in the small district of Hacienda Valdez where the first handmade aluminumwares were manufactured and the modern era in aluminumware industry began. The families of Timpug and Mallari were the pioneers of this craft. During the early years of the industry, the primary sources for raw materials were the scrap metals obtained from the nearby military bases. In the 1960's however, aluminumware makers began importing base metals from other local manufacturers (e.g. Reynolds Philippines). These local manufacturers identified their clients from Floridablanca as the Pampanga Group. Around that time, there were about 15-20 members in the said group. The group represented the number of aluminumware makers active within the entire Hacienda Valdez district. Although the Pampanga Group initially began as a collective name for these

makers, it was later formalized as the 'members' began to work jointly with the intention of improving and developing the aluminumware industry in their region.

TECHNIQUES

There are two methods of aluminumware making existing today. First is pamamukpuk, the more traditional way of creating aluminum wares. It is the process where a base metal is heated above a small open fire for several minutes until malleable, then is transferred to a wooden molder called the ulmaan where the craftsman hammers away to shape it into a strong, efficient household object (e.g. pots, basins and pans) which can weather years of use. The second modern, more inexpensive method is by means of machine spinning where raw materials (aluminum circles measuring an 8x4 flat sheet) are clamped in an apparatus which pivots away to produce a lighter, but equally efficient version than the ones crafted by hand.

Between these two however, it is the hand-crafted aluminumwares that are more in demand. Buyers prefer a substantially expensive item over an economical, equally efficient item simply because of the guarantee that it will last longer than its machine-made counterpart.

CHALLENGES

The aluminumware industry in Floridablanca is constantly challenged with many trials. During the 1980's, the period when machine-made wares were mass-produced both for local use and for export, the industry suffered a distressful period following a negative economic circumstance brought about by peso depreciation. Another trying time came for the industry when the catastrophic erup-



THE TRADITIONAL HANDCRAFTED ALUMINUMWARES ARE MORE IN DEMAND THAN MODERN MACHINE-PRODUCED

tion of Mt. Pinatubo in 1991 devastated the town. Barangays located along the Gumain, Caulaman and Porac Rivers, including residential and agricultural lands, were inundated by lahar as thick as 20 feet. Meanwhile, Mabical may have been spared from the thundering fury of the lahar flows, but it did not escape the hardships of a suffering economy.

TODAY

That was the picture of more than ten years ago. Nowadays however, the aluminum ware industry is swiftly gaining a more positive future. The Mabical area where we visited currently has five neighboring stores. The first and largest of these is the Velasco Variety and Aluminum Kitchenware store which is the pioneer maker of machine-spun wares sold in that area. Although there is a huge predominance of machine-made wares being retailed there, hand-crafted products are still widely popular. In fact, usually after lunch time, it is common to hear the cacophony of pounding coming from stores which had not yet forgotten the old ways of pukpok.



PUKPUK

MAKING CHEAP BRASS LOOK LIKE SILVER

BY ERLINDA E. CRUZ



BEA ZOBEL DE AYALA MARVELLED AT THIS FOLK ART, WHICH IS QUICKLY VANISHING BECAUSE YOUNGSTERS HAVE NO INTEREST IN TRAINING

For an artist whose work graces cathedrals and churches, Eduardo Mutuc works in humble surroundings. His studio occupies a corner of his yard, shares space with a tailoring shop and lies beyond several winding streets beside the Pampanga River in Apalit. During the rainy season, the river overflows and water floods his studio, drenching his wood blocks. Mutuc takes it all in stride. He is a man of unbelievable dedication to his art even though he learned his craft late. He was already 29, married with the first of eight children and frustrated with farming, when he decided to carve out a new career for himself. He learned how to carve wood when he was employed in a furniture shop. The seventies marked the start of his third occupation, metal craft. Working with just a chisel, a hammer, an old rubber slipper and a sheet of metal, Mutuc has shown that low level technology can create powerful and moving religious art. His work graces cathedrals and many parishes, as well as the home of private collectors who have commissioned him to create mostly religious articles like crucifixes, candle sticks, mirror frames, retablos, frontales, crowns for colonial saints and carrozas.

Hand-wrought metal and silver craft is a vanishing art because now there are machines for cutting and stamping the metal. However, handcrafted metal makes for finer and stylized designs and infuses each piece with a uniqueness that cannot be captured by any ma-

Jeric Canlas, a pukpuk artist from Mexico town, did this altar frontal at the Center for Kapampangan Studies

chine. Mutuc's cherubim, in particular, feature distinct facial expressions amazing in their variety and verisimilitude.

For his craft, the artist uses the following tools and materials.

- Tanso, yellow brass sheet, the main component of his metal craft.

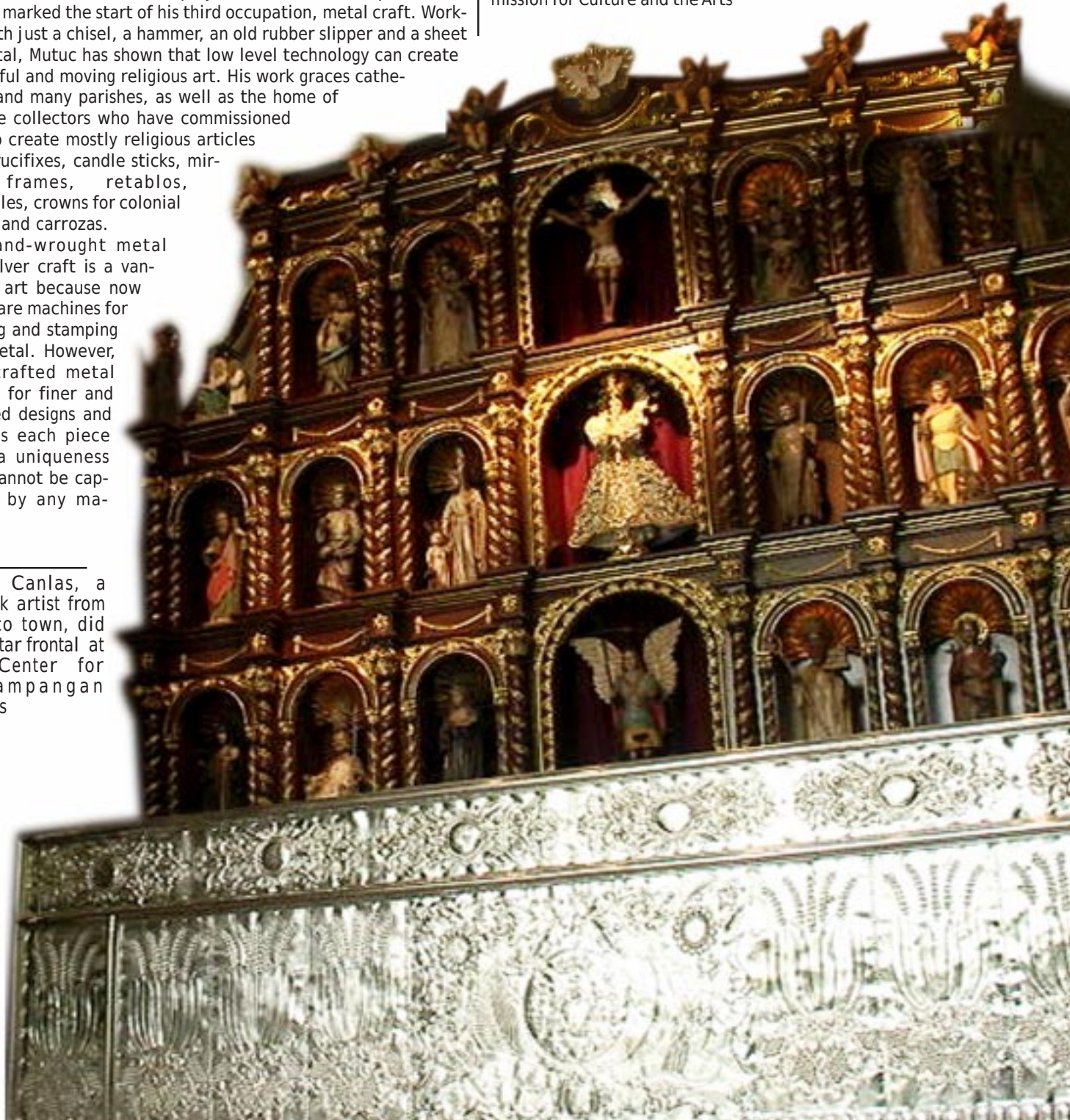
- Biryá, a rubbery clay mixture used for molding the metal sheet to create the design.

- Plantilla, design or a pattern of work on paper to be copied on the metal sheet.

- Molding dutung, wood mold, the outermost layer where the metal sheet will be molded first before going into the details of the design.

- Sinsil, small pieces of tubular solid iron of different sizes used for shaping the finer patterns on the metal.

Eduardo Mutuc is one of the three Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan Awardees (GAMABA) in 2004 declared by the National Commission for Culture and the Arts





Eduardo Mutuc of Apalit uses a rubber slipper in imprinting the wooden mold on the brass sheet-- a folksy detail which impressed Bea Zobel when she visited Mutuc's shop. Below, Jeric Canlas of Mexico burns the imprint to achieve the same effect.



(NCCA). The GAMABA, is the highest honor given by the nation to indigenous folk artists for their outstanding work in creating, preserving and promoting native art forms. The awardees are conferred the award in special ceremonies in Malacañang. A Parangal for the awardees is likewise held at the Courtyard of the National Museum for the Filipino People.

As a part of NCCA's program of transferring the skill to the next generation, Mutuc trains young boys in the community by teaching them woodcarving which is a basic step, before the metal craft. However, Mutuc says, the young boys find little interest in the craft because they seek or prefer a training and livelihood with quick compensation.

HOW *PUKPUK* IS DONE

1. The art design is drawn on paper.
2. The design is chiseled on the wood mold.
3. The metal sheet is placed over the wood mold and pounded (stamped) into the design with a hammer padded by a rubber slipper (what Kapampangans call *istepin* or *step-in*).
4. As the yellow brass sheet is shaped into the design of the carved wood beneath, it is lifted out and prepared for the next step.
5. The second piece of wood, slightly bigger in size than the metal, is prepared and covered with *birya*. The metal now with the basic designs from the carved wood is placed over the *birya*, nailed on four corners. The artist this time uses different sizes of *sinsil* in shaping the detailed designs on the metal sheet, as well as in refining the previous shapes acquired from the carved wood. This part is the most meticulous and time-consuming step because the intricate designs are now created on the metal sheet.
6. After refining the art work on the whole metal sheet, it is now ready for the silver electroplating which is the process of passing electric current in water where the beaten brass plate is submerged, so that the silver powder will turn into a silver solution that will cover the brass plate (*talbug*).

Kapampangan folksiness is shown in the details of the *pukpuk* altar frontal at the Center: the Augustinian seal is surrounded by anthropological elements like *dapu* (crocodile), *kamaru* (mole cricket), *itu* (catfish), *tagak* (egret), *tugak* (frog), and Pampanga's agricultural produce such as rice, sugarcane, banana, coconut, watermelon and vegetables.





TRADITIONS IN METALSMITHING

Gintu among pilak, mámulaklak

OUR ANCESTORS MELTED MEXICAN SILVER COINS TO MAKE RELIGIOUS SILVERWARE

By Alex Castro

The silver sunburst in the main altar of the Angeles Parish Church was commissioned by Fray Guillermo Masnou, OSA in 1872-1873



Palitera or toothpick holder

the art of working on metals like gold, silver, brass and other alloys—was not unknown in pre-Hispanic Philippines. In fact, the earliest gold ornaments excavated in the Philippines were gold beads from Guri Cave (ca. 700-200 BC) and similar ones from Tadyaw Cave (100 BC-300 AD) in Palawan. Long before the Spaniards came, we had local names for some of these precious metals: *gintu* for gold and *pilak* for silver. Gold was treasured by early Filipinos and was used as wedding dowry, to pay a tribute and to value other goods. As a fitting send-off to the afterlife, faces of dead were often covered with gold. Antonio Pigafetta documents the gifts of Rajah Humabon to Magellan in 1521: “two large earrings of gold...two armlets...two other rings for the feet above the ankles...”. Indeed, the abundance of gold in the coun-

try argues for the presence of a skilled and expert goldsmith, attested to by Augustinian Martin de Rada in a letter to the Viceroy of Mexico in 1569 where he declared that “natives could recognize where the gold comes from such an island and this other gold comes from such another”.

From the late 16th to the 19th century, when the Spanish missionaries arrived and started building churches, attention was focused on silver, the common metal used for ecclesiastical activities and structures. Though excellent goldsmiths, the Filipinos were not familiar with silversmithing, perhaps because silver was not popular, and that it tarnished quickly. It is in this art that the Chinese excelled; in fact, the tools of their trade are still known today by their Chinese terms.

Under the guidance of the friars, Chinese *plateros* wrought chalices, ciboriums, monstrances, censers, reliquaries, cruets, aspersoriums, aspergillums (for sprinkling holy water) pyxes and crucifixes for Catholic rituals. To decorate the altar, Mexican silver coins by the thousands were melted and fashioned into tabernacles and altar frontals, *ramilletes* (silver floral standees), candlesticks, sanctuary lamps, *limosneras* (silver alms box) and baptismal shells. The altar of the Holy Rosary Parish in Angeles is noted for its brilliant sunburst

of fine silver. For processions, *carrozas* were constructed and fitted with silver or brass panels decorated with hammered patterns. The *carroza* of San Pedro from San Luis, Pampanga for instance, is noted for its all-silver beaten panels adorned with 3-dimensional floral and vegetable designs also of silver. In Sasmuan, the *calandra* (glass case) of the Santo Entierro is equipped with silver *virina* (glass globes for lights) holders. Processional *santos*, on the other hand, were outfitted with gem-encrusted gold or silver *aureolas*, *rostrillos*, *diademas* and *tiaras*, with intricate designs often made by the *pukpok* technique. The century-old ivory image of Nuestra Señra. de las Estrellas, owned by the Mercados of Sasmuan, is outfitted with intricately designed silver *gamit*, including a jeweled scepter.

Metalsmiths, however, also churned out gold and silver jewellery for personal adornment as well as functional objects for domestic use. Gold necklaces, jeweled combs, keyholders, rings and *salakots* with silver finials were produced for every member of the household. The quality of gold ranged from a high of 24 karats to a low of 10 karats, often rose gold in color and referred to as *tumbaga*.

In and around the house, silver was generously used to make everyday objects like *cubiertos* (spoon and fork), *paliteras*

PAMPANGA'S SILVER TREASURES



NAVETA (incense boat) from Mexico town (Archdiocese of San Fernando Museum & Archives)



VINAJERAS (cruets) from Mabalacat (Archdiocese of San Fernando Museum & Archives)



CUSTODIA (monstrance) from Lubao, (Archdiocese of San Fernando Museum & Archives)



RELICARIO (reliquary) from Sta. Rita (Archdiocese of San Fernando Museum & Archives)



RAMILLETES (floral standees) (San Agustin Museum)



ASPERGILLUMS (holy water sprinkler) (Archdiocese of San Fernando Museum & Archives)



COPON (ciborium) from Apalit (Archdiocese of San Fernando Museum & Archives)



CALIS (chalice) from Apalit (Archdiocese of San Fernando Museum & Archives)

(Photos from Simbahan by Regalado Trota Jose)

(toothpick holders), teapots and trays. A fine example of 19th century Kapampangan affluence is a magnificent silver pineapple-shaped paliteras from the Hizon family in Mexico which shows excellent Filipino workmanship in the treatment of the foliage and execution of the lion's paws at the base.

Metal-smithing in old Pampanga

Early metalsmithing centers in the Philippines include Quiapo, Sta. Cruz and Binondo in Manila; Vigan and Laoag in Ilocos; Iloilo, Bohol and Cebu in the Visayas; and Meycauayan in Bulacan, where the goldsmith trade still is in existence. From late 16th century onwards, the concentration of goldsmiths shifted to the North, with 40% of artisans located in Manila, Bulacan and Pampanga. In Pampanga, early smiths were at work in Apalit and its fringes (a barrio, Capalangan, is so named after its produce of metal hand blades, locally known as palang), Macabebe and Guagua, where smithing complements the work of santeros or carvers of wooden

santos.

Today, you can still find these craftsmen working on tin sheets and brass instead of silver, and creating chased picture frames and jewelry boxes alongside traditional religious metal accoutrements. Now vanishing in number, they are mostly concentrated in Apalit, "pukpok boys"—as they have fancifully called themselves—are still active in barrio Sulipan and in San Vicente. In Sto. Domingo, Mexico, one of the last plateros of the town, Jeric Canlas continues to practice his metalsmithing skill, specializing in gold and silver-plated accessories for saints as well as contemporary crowns for local beauty queens. It is a time-consuming process, all done by hand, all labor intensive, which explains why more and more craftsmen are abandoning this time-honored tradition. Recently, however, Eduardo Mutuc of Apalit was given the Gawad Manlilikha ng Bayan Award for his contribution to the folkloric art of silversmithing. Hopefully, this would rekindle interest in this dying art where

Kapampangan artisans reign supreme.

METALWORKING TECHNIQUES

- Chasing and Repousse: a technique in which designs are raised on a metal sheet by pounding a pattern from the back using a sinsil (blunt chisel). This is achieved by working on the metal against a wooden background, on which definite designs have been incised. Commonly known as pukpok.

- Engraving: incising a design using a pointed chisel, known as pang-ysot (Ysot was common zigzag engraving pattern).

- Die-stamping: sheets were worked thru the bagsak technique, where a die (design on steel) was applied to create a pattern allowing exact design repetitions. This process was unknown prior to Spanish times, perhaps introduced by Chinese metalsmiths.

- Gilding and Plating: gilding was done by fire (dorado del fuego) in which gold, melted in mercury, was coated on the object (silver or bronze) to be gilded, then

baked until the gold was left on the surface.

- Filigree: gold or silver was drawn into thin wires and then shaped in definite patterns. Often seen in tambourins, rings, pendants and beads.

- Granulation: small, solid gold spheres or granules are formed from melted gold wires then soldered into place to form a variety of clustered patterns

- Sala-salamin inlay: cloisons or cels were fitted with highly polished sheets of gold, usually of a different color, to mimic gems which had prohibitive costs and were

difficult to obtain.

- Weaving: chains used in belts and necklaces are formed through weaving/looping techniques. Alfajor is a style of chain that uses small, flat metal sections connected by double links.

- Soldering: ancient craftsmen used unidentified adherents (probably derived from aquatic plants and salt springs) and devised ovens that generated heat evenly. Today's craftsmen use

gasoline/acetylene torches (operated with foot bellows) and borax as a flux and adherent, to bond 2 metals together.

Sources:

1. Sanctuary Silver, by Martin I. Tinio, Jr., museum exhibit catalog, Puerta Real, Intramuros, Manila, 1982.
2. Villegas, Ramon N. "Pre-Hispanic Gold: Extrapolating Techniques & Identifying Fakes", article from the The Manila Arts & Antiques Exhibition Catalog, 1982.
3. Villegas, Ramon N. Philippine Jewelry Tradition
4. Filipino Heritage, Vol. VII

JEWEL JARGON

An inventory of jewelry worn by upper-class Filipinos in the 19th century included the following:

- Criollas: earrings
- Tamborins/ Rosarios: rosaries or simplified rosaries with decorated beads made of silver or gold. The cross may be rendered in florid rococo style, called tink or pinya. It may also be Christ-less like the alitagtag cross inspired by a similar one found in Batangas. The cross dangles from a gold metal piece often called lazo (bow knot) or a mariposa (butterfly) due to its shape.

- Porta Abanico: fan chain holders attached to the waist
- Llavera : key holders, usually made of silver
- Relicario : pendant reliquaries containing glass-covered saints' bones, miniature ivory images or bits of wax from agnus dei.

- Pulsera : bracelets
- Pantoche: hair or veil pins
- Peineta : combs of tortoiseshells, surmounted with chased silver or gold covered body. Sometimes the top part has a scallop design fancifully called kamatsilis.

- Alfiler : decorative pin to hold together the ends of a panuelo

- Salakot: hard hats, made from woven buri, nipa, dry gourd or tortoiseshell strips, decorated with silver/metal trims, patches and finials

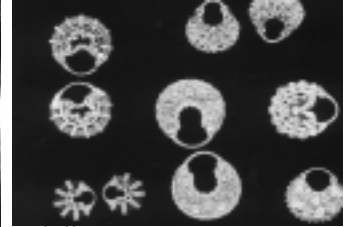
TOOLS OF THE TRADE

- Tokoy: work table
- Lekyo: retractable board attached to the work table
- Tsintse: goldsmith's wax where object to be worked on is set
- Tuwa: tool chest
- Tiho: silver or gold sheet
- Gintsam: cutting chisel
- Tiyam: anvil where sheet metal is flattened
- Kutyam: dented anvil for molding/shaping object
- Katoy: light hammer for shaping metals
- Bandili: fine-toothed saw
- Siyato: 3-edge file for smoothening rough spots
- Tikat: super-fine file
- Toli: a file for finishing engravings
- Tsambwa: gold and silver shavings or dust
- Puntaw: dustpan

CATALOG OF COLONIAL SILVERWARE



Rosario



Criollas



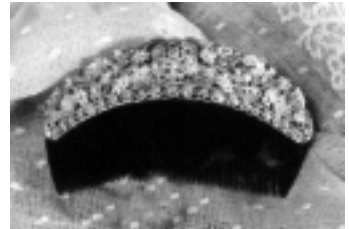
Porta abanico



Salakot



Llavera



Peineta



Pantoche



Alfiler



Alitagtag



Tamborin

(Photos from Hiyas: Philippine Jewellery Heritage and Household Antiques and Heirlooms)

The ECCLESIASTICAL ARTISTS of Pampanga

THE *SANTOS* OF MACABEBE ARE COMMERCIAL
AND DEVOTIONAL; THE *SANTOS* OF BETIS
ARE COLLECTIBLE AND DECORATIVE

By Arwin Paul Lingat



Gener Bautista of Macabebe

Although Betis is the center of wood-carving and furniture-making in Pampanga, it is Macabebe town which is known as the home of *santeros*. A *santero* is a craftsman who uses wood, ivory, cement or fiber glass to produce an ecclesiastical art piece known as *santo*, usually an image of Christ, the Blessed Virgin Mary or a Saint.

Before the war, fishing and farming were the only means of livelihood of the people of Macabebe. *Santo* making was then merely an expression of their ingenuity, and the products were primarily for personal, not commercial, use. Shortly before World War II broke out, Pablo

“Ambo” Bautista thought of opening a business/shop for *santo* making. He gathered all the local artisans of Macabebe and opened his talyer in the town. Tatang Ambo was not an artist, nor a sculptor, not even a painter. He was a businessman first and foremost, who financed all the *santeros* he gathered in his town. It was in this way that a livelihood for the people was opened and new artists emerged.

The management of the talyer was later transferred to his son Antonio “Adong” Bautista, a painter by profession. By this time *escayola santos* had become popular. *Escayola santos*’ main composition is the chalk dust or gesso (a kind of plaster of Paris) molded and painted afterwards.

In the 1950s he had the monopoly of *santo* business in Pampanga, in particular the *escayola* finish. The talyer of Tatang Ambo inspired other shops to mushroom along the whole stretch of the town’s main road leading to the plaza. Others found their way in the other towns of Pampanga and other places outside of the province. Most shop owners were sculptors, painters or former helpers of Tatang Ambo’s talyer. Some were the sons of the old carvers of Tatang Ambo like Adol Aguirre and Beben Garcia of Sto. Niño de Escultura.

Today, Tatang Ambo’s talyer is managed

by his grandson Gener Cortez Bautista, 57. He is not an artisan but a graduate of business management. He manages at least four wood carvers, two painters and several helpers including his wife, who is a *burdadera* (embroiderer). His son, a graduate of business management, also helps manage their business.

Tatang Ambo is now acknowledged as the father of the *santo* industry of Macabebe, which is quite different from the antique *santo* industry that has flourished in Betis. The Macabebe *santo* is contemporary, commercial and devotional, while the antique *santo* is collectible and decorative.

NICOLAS ‘NICK’ LUGUE

Another popular Kapampangan *santero* is Nick Lague of Apalit. The 39-year-old artisan is the son of Leopoldo Lague, who was also a well-known *santero* during his time. Nick is only one of Leopoldo’s five sons who inherited his skill.

Nick also apprenticed under Willie Layug of Betis, who, along with Tom J oven of Bacolor, is probably the most accomplished living ecclesiastical artist in Pampanga today. After Pinatubo’s eruption, Nick opened a shop in his backyard in San Juan, Apalit. His first works were mostly



The retablo of San Vicente de Zaragoza, Bacolor that Tom Joven designed, prior to polychrome painting, which was the style prevailing in colonial times.



Nick Lague of Apalit

relieves (bas relief). His cousins and a handful of boys in the neighborhood are among his co-workers in the shop.

His creations are made mostly of wood, like the processional images and images for the church of the newly created parishes in Pampanga and even outside of the province, in particular in Bulacan and Nueva Ecija and for home altars as well. At present he is working on the two replicas of the canonically crowned image of Virgen delos Remedios used for parish visitation of the Crusade of Penance and Charity. A Nativity with 13 sets was his recent major work this 2006 for St. Joseph the Worker Parish in Floridablanca, Pampanga. He helped in the restoration of the Holy Angel image of Angeles City owned by the Nepomucenos now under the care of Holy Angel University.

Ivory works:

Due to the scarcity and prohibition of the government on ivory import, his ivory works are mostly miniature images for home altars. He is very seldom commissioned for life size ivory santos because of the scarcity and the prohibitive cost of ivory.

Future of the business

Nick and his wife have plans regarding the expansion of their business. Since it is in their backyard and very hard to locate for the customers, they are planning to have a showroom of Nick's works in a commercial area. Presently, they are into a one-stop shop. Not like other santeros, he does

not make santos for commercial purposes or ready-made santo. They are mostly commissioned santos.

Gener Cortez Bautista

His workshop is located in his house yard at Caduang Tete, San Gabriel, Macabebe, Pampanga. He manages at least 4 santeros, 2 painters and helpers.

The santos are mostly made of wood. He produces processional images for different parishes even outside of Pampanga, patron saints or favorite saints for home altars or for personal use. At present fiber santos have replaced the traditional wood images because of the limited supply of wood. Most of the santeros have shifted from wood to fiber clothing or cement. This is the best alternative for santong de bulto. You will not need a big log just to produce one santo but instead just enough wood for the head and hands. The first step is to make the base either of cement or a wood post style. Then place the chicken wires to produce the desired flap of the dress or pattern or the shape of the santo. Put the fiber clothing with a chemical over the chicken wire pattern of the santo. Place all the necessary accessories and details then let it dry for at least 2 days. After drying, the encarna would be the last stage. For santeros, this is the easiest way to make images without any delicate work, but unlike the wooden santo, which can be easily repaired when damaged; the fiber/clothing santo has to be entirely replaced even when only a part of it is broken.

Future of the business

Tatang Gener has no plans in expanding his shop because it is expensive to maintain more than one shop it due to health problems and age and lack of manpower. Gone also are the days of all-year-round walk-in customers who ready-bought made santos (commercial). His business goes down during rainy seasons from June - September. Best time is before Christmas, Holy Week and summer time in which most of the fiestas are celebrated.

WILLY LAYUG

Wilfredo Tadeo Layug of Sta. Ursula, Betis comes from a family of sculptors and woodcarvers. In fact, the whole barrio is a community of folk artists, from carvers and sculptors to painters and santeros. Layug



Tom Joven of Bacolor (top) puts finishing touches on one of his works. Willy Layug of Betis (above) entertains students on a field trip to his shop

finished BS Architecture and Fine Arts at the University of Sto. Tomas as a scholar of Gov. Estelito Mendoza and Mayor Israel Eusoof.

Layug expanded his shop after the eruption of Pinatubo by giving employment to 29 skilled workers, mostly relatives, friends and neighbors. It is to his credit that the shop helped the barrio get up on its feet again and even achieve its former reputation as a woodcarving capital in the country—a reputation established by the world-renowned Juan Flores.

A scholar at heart, Layug improved his craft by reading art books, frequenting exhibits and joining pilgrimages to Europe and other parts of the world to observe and



The 19th-century central retablo of Bacolor buried in lahar in 1995 (left), now restored to its former glory by J oven (right)

study the works of the masters. He and his wife recently went to Oberammergau in Germany of the famed Passion Play reenactment, and to his surprise, discovered it is also a woodcarving village like Betis. This year, he will go to Seville, Spain to study the estofado, a finishing technique in which gold leaf is applied over the surface of a santo, and painted with the desired color, which is scratched to reveal the gold plate with the hue of the paint.

In 2002, he was awarded Most Outstanding Kapampangan for Ecclesiastical Art; in 2005, he was named as part of the celebration of Pampanga Day. Last year, December 3, 2005, he was also awarded as most outstanding Guaguaño for sculpture and ecclesiastical art.

He is presently chairman of the Parish Cultural Heritage Council in Betis.

TOM J OVEN

TOMAS M. J OVEN of Bacolor began as

antique collector and ended up as restorer. His early works were with the collections of Jojo Canlas, followed by the processional heirloom tableau of the Potenciano family in Binan, Laguna, the termite-infested Tercera Caida, (third fall of Christ). The next assignment was the Callejero (processional image) of San Miguel Arkangel of the De Leon family in San Miguel de Mayumo in Bulacan. In the mid 1990s he served as finishing consultant in the shop of Myrna Bituin, the famous exporter and producer of wood carving in Betis. His succeeding works include the Nuestra Senora de La Correa of Consolacion in San Agustin Church in Intramuros (in time for the Canonical Coronation on September 4, 2000); the Nuestra Senora de La Naval de Angeles in Angeles City, Pampanga (both the 1830 ivory image owned by the Hensons and the wooden image on the niche of the main retablo in the Holy Rosary Parish Church); the Nuestra Se-

nora de la Naval de Bacolor (the 19th century wooden image of the Virgen on the central niche of the main retablo of Bacolor, restored after the lahar devastation of 1995); San Pedro Apostol, locally known as Apo Iro, the ivory image of the Arnedo-Gonzales clan (restored because of numerous small cracks on the face and the recent encarna applied which is good for wood but not for ivory); the Nuestra Senora de los Desamparados in Marikina City (in time for Episcopal Coronation and eventually for her Canonical Coronation in October 2005); Nuestra Senora de los Desamparados of Sta. Ana, Manila; Nuestra Senora delos Remedios, Patrona de la Pampanga (in time for the 50th anniversary of the Her canonical coronation).

Some of his clients include Paulino and Hetty Que and Jaime Laya; President Arroyo's recent santo gifts to the President of Mexico and to Pope Benedict XVI were done by J oven.

TIPS IN RESTORING A RETABLO

1) Visuals: use old pictures, posters, souvenir programs as reference.

2) Research: check documents in the archives that contain data on the construction of the church, including the Libro de Inventario and other related sources.

3) Identification: study the period in which the retablo was made to identify the exact prevailing design of that period. Examples of this are as follows;

- Late 17th-18th century: polychrome and Mexican styles typical of the tropics and influenced by the Mexican culture (due to the Galleon Trade). The architec-

tural features were more on Baroque, considered one of the most flamboyant features of architectures.

-19th century: retablos were more simplified and defined. The prevailing style is mostly Neo-classical. Good examples of this are the retablos of San Luis and the central retablo of Bacolor, Pampanga. Take notice of the prevailing painting of gold and white during this era.

-Turn-of-the-century, with the influence of the Americans, Neoclassic style retained but paintings changed to white-washed style, sometimes with beige or off-white mixtures.

4) Scraping of Paint: To further ensure the original paint of the retablo, painstakingly scrape the existing outer layer because the earlier restorers/ painters had merely painted it over with new enamel without scraping the old paint.

5) Paint: Proper mixing of paint will be in the hands of the artist-restorer. Basic considerations on paint are as follows: latex is good on cement; oil-based is better on wood while lacquer paint easily fades. Proper brush stroking is better than spraying to achieve proper nuances of color. One of J oven's trade secrets lies in brush strokes and proper mixing of paint.

Being the Parish Pastoral Council president of Bacolor, he is undertaking the restoration of the three retablos unearthed from the 1995 lahar. His present commissioned retablo is for the chapel of San Vicente de Zaragoza in his home barrio in Bacolor. This new retablo for San Vicente was based on the prevailing 17th-18th century designs so as to compliment the 18th century image of San Vicente Diacono. This retablo is in the finishing stage. This retablo for San Vicente will be painted polychrome-style.



SANTO EXTREME MAKEOVER

A GOOD RESTORER MUST RECREATE THE ORIGINAL *ENCARNA*



BEFORE

AFTER

Restoring wooden santo is similar to restoring wooden retablo, the only difference being in the encarna of the face and hands of bastidor santo, because this is the most delicate part and the source of the santo's life-like quality. All santo images owe their charm and beauty to the quality of their encarna.

If you scrape the santo's paint and discover that the original paint is already in bad condition, you must copy the proper paint mix of the original paint for the new whole-body encarna. On the other hand, if the

original paint is still in good condition, you also copy the original mix but apply only to damaged parts. The right way of scraping the encarna is also one of Joven's trade secrets.

One of

the very important things to consider with regards to the finishing of the restored image would be the audience, i.e., is the image being used as a museum piece or is the image for public veneration? According to Tom Joven, a good restorer considers what is known as reversibility which means making the santo's restoration reversible in the event that a more skilled restorer in the future comes along and is asked to undo the previous restorer's work for better results. (Santo above restored by Tom Joven.)

Beware of fake santos

IT TAKES A SHARP EYE, A GOOD NOSE AND SOMETIMES, ONLY INSTINCT

The good news is, most fakers do a sloppy job. The bad news is, most buyers can't tell the difference. Here are tips to help you avoid being ripped off:

- Genuine antiques have darker exposed surfaces, because these are the parts often exposed to candles. Repros and fakes have uniformly dark surfaces, because fakers don't know any better.

- Genuine antiques have no burnt odor or scent of paints and chemicals; fakes have been coated with calomine (masilla), painted and then buried to achieve an "aged" effect. When that is not enough, a blow torch will usually finish the job.

- Ivory santos are expensive, but antique ivory santos are even more expensive. Fakers artificially age ivory santos by boiling them in tea or nicotine, and by roasting them in coals. You can tell if they are fakes by keeping an eye on these details:

- (1) Genuinely old ivory santos have cracks that are tiny, deep and uneven; fakes have very even and predictable cracks

- (2) Artificially stained ivory santos are uniformly yellow; ivory is supposed to stay white regardless of age; if it discolors at all, check the cracks and folds—they should be white inside

- (3) The facial expression of authentic ivory santos is restrained, i.e., they always seem about to smile, but never do. Fakes have full smiles, revealing their teeth; they also have chubby, doll-like faces

- Genuine antiques are elegant and dignified, and possess the look of detached and distant reserve. Fakes are overly prettified with very expressive faces.

- Genuine antiques have a look of originality and individuality; fakes and repros have the character-less look of assembly-line products.

Some fakers have unfortunately perfected the craft that buyers have been reduced to relying on mere instinct to recognize a genuine antique. But the rule of thumb is still: Check out the details. Look for hidden mistakes and oversights. Fakers focus on outside appearances so much that they overlook details like eyelids, nostrils, nails, garment folds and limbs underneath the dress. Genuine santos exhibit perfection and consistency in everything. Even the primitive santos of Bohol are consistently unproportional.

(Reference: Belinda Olivares Cunanan, "How to Tell a Fake" in Household Antiques and Heirlooms)



The wooden bas relief of Santiago de Campostela, at the gate of Intramuros, was carved by Willy Layug of Betis. (Cgstock.com)

By Arwin Paul Lingat

Different forms of Santo

De bulto - freely standing image carved in round. It is sometimes called talyado, because all the necessary details are carved out, like the dress, hair and sometimes even their accessories. According to Prof. Regalado T. Jose it is from this word that the name rebulto.

De gonce - images composed of articulated joints of arms and legs enabling them to have different postures or gestures. A good example is an image of the Crucified Christ for "tanggap" used every Good Friday Siete Palabras in which his outstretched arms are attached to his body by leather of the same color as his arms. When the image is lowered from the cross it can be used as Sto Entierro (Christ lying in state).

De Bastidor - a frame of light wooden sticks usually pyramidal or conical in shape attached to the torso with the head and the arms attached and over laid by precious vestments. Good examples of these kinds are the images of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Tools for wood carving:

Dos o Tres - this refers to the width of the blade of the chisel, used mainly for the basalan or bagwasan (shaping) of the wood.

Tres pico - chisel used for shaping the folds of the clothes especially for santos carved in round.

Lucub - carved blade chisel used for

carving the details and the delicate work especially the head and hair parts of the santos.

Sapad - flat blade chisel used for other details to acquire the desired effect for high relief.

Materials:

Santos are made mostly of wood. The wood carvers prefer the batikuling. Batikuling wood of yellowish white or loamy yellow with rather loose texture and plenty of pores, it is easy to work with and quickly acquires good polish and dries fast. Recently due to the log ban, santol wood has become popular among the carvers as an alternative for batikuling, because it is readily available and is not included in the DENR list of banned log.

Procedure:

There are many ways and practices regarding santo carvings. The following is the general process of carving a woodpiece for santo making.

1. Choose a dry wood, which has been dried for at least two months but the longer the wood is dried the better so that the possibility of cracks will be prevented.

2. Shape the wood or outline it (Basal, Basalan/ Bagwas, Bagwasan) to your desired shape and size. The dos/tres chisel is used for this process.

3. Carve the piece (detalye). This is the painstaking part of the process; it is the time that all the desired effects and details of work are done. Usually the head and the

hands are carved separately because they require more time and a more delicate work. This is mostly used for the santong de gonce or bastidor because the whole image is covered with real vestments. But for santo images carved in round this requires more time because the vestments and other accessories are to be carved.

4. Sanding (pamagliya). This process is to smoothen all the surfaces of the carvings. At this point the whole shape of the santo is in its rough form.

5. Paint (encarna) this is the last process which maintains the tradition of giving a fair complexion to the image, to defined flesh color and tone to the sculpture. The delicate process gives life/ character to the image.

Accessories of the Santo images

Blessed Virgin Mary:

Aureolas - placed at the back of the head or encircling the head. Attached to it are twelve stars. This is the apocalyptic version of St. John, the woman clothed with the sun with twelve stars crowning her. Sometimes the number of stars may vary between 24 and 26 stars like the La Naval of the Dominicans or the Our Lady of Consolation of the Augustinians.

Rostrillo - an oblong adornment, placed to frame the face of images of the Blessed Virgin. Sometimes it can be replaced by a resplendor or media-luna (crescent shaped) framed on the forehead and upper part of the head. An example of this is the Virgin of Manaoag.

Female saints also are adorned with zarcillos (earrings) and gargantilla, a necklace of precious stones worn by women.

The images of Christ

Potencias - rays of light grouped into threes, radiate from the head of Christ, symbolizing his universal power over mankind. Sometimes tiny silver leaves or flowers with precious stones can be found on the hair of a certain santo, especially a Sto. Entierro image.

The crucifix

Rotulo - an inscription or label, this refers to the INRI of the crucifix

Cantoneras - the metal works at the end points of the cross,

Ramages - rays that emanate from the center of the cross in four sets, also called rayos.

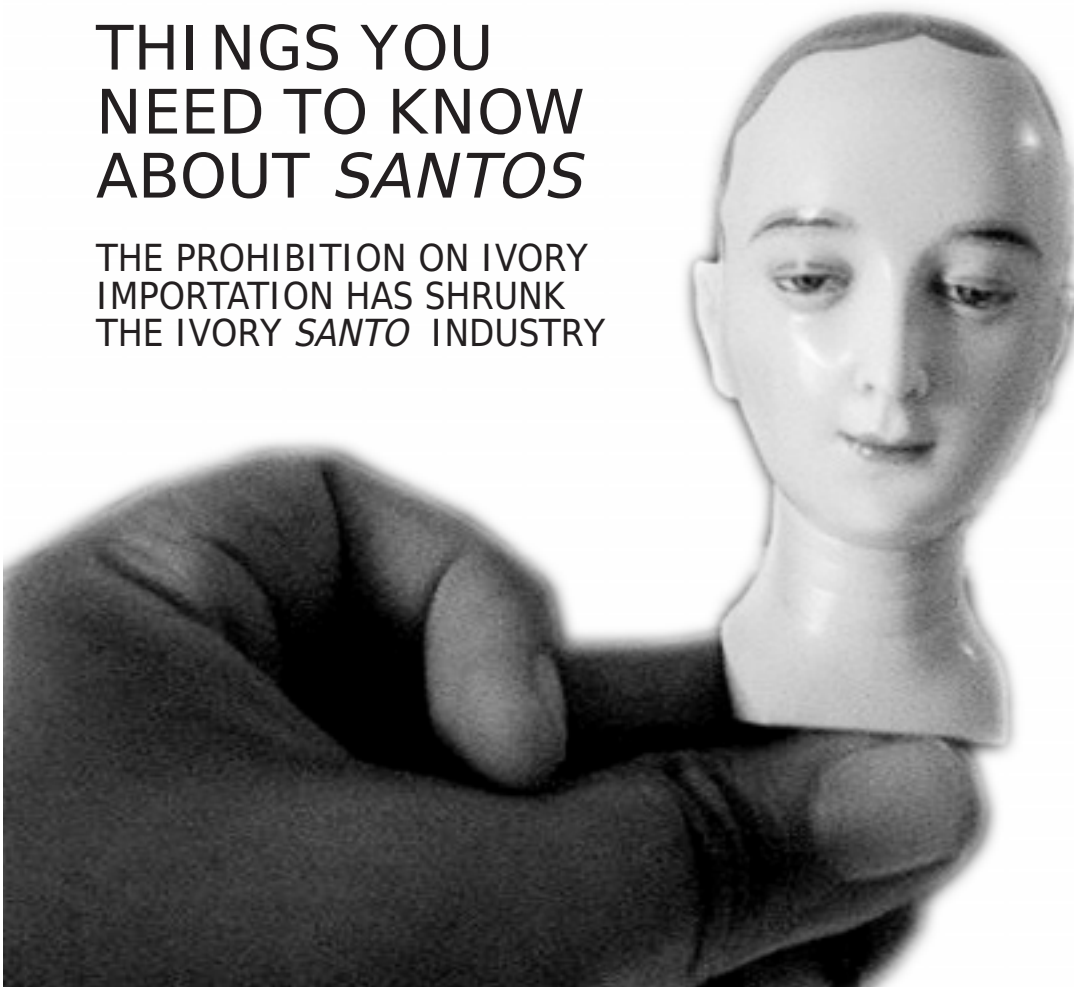
Calavera - skull with crossed canillas (long bones) representing Golgotha.

Other accessories of the image of Christ are the three nails, sun, crown of thorns, loincloths. Some of the crucifixes are adorned by generous devotees with ornately worked coverings or planchas (metal repousse) of silver or gold.

(Source: Prof. Regalado Trota Jose)

THINGS YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT SANTOS

THE PROHIBITION ON IVORY
IMPORTATION HAS SHRUNK
THE IVORY SANTO INDUSTRY





THE VANISHING KAPAMPANGAN BURDADEROS

THE HIGH-RELIEF EMBROIDERY
IS WHAT MAKES ALL THE DIFFERENCE

By Arwin Paul Lingat

Elaborately embroidered clothing, religious objects, and household items have been a mark of wealth and status in many cultures, and hand embroidery is a traditional art form passed from generation to generation in many regions, including northern Vietnam, Mexico, and eastern Europe. The oldest surviving embroidered works in Pampanga are ecclesiastical objects such as santo, altar cloth and vestments.

A santo that is dressed with vestments is called a bastidor santo. Its apparel is composed of a vestir (the dress) and a manto (the mantle or cape). The vestir consists of a saya (skirt), a tapa-pecho (blouse) and the manggas (sleeves). Gowns are embroidered intricately and lavishly with gold or silver thread. On the other hand, recamado is an embossed work on cloth. This is done by sewing threads over preformed pieces of cardboard, newspapers of various shapes and thickness, and even bamboo. Lastly, the calado (lace work) is done by pulling some threads together and leaving only a few to form a certain design.

Basically the first step is to

find a design. Find inspiration by observing images whose vestments are considered acclaimed masterpieces, whether antique or new. For a more pleasant design, normally there should be a theme—either floral, foliage, era-inspired, etc. Proportion of elements should be taken into consideration. All the desired design will be laid out and distributed. During this step, study the possible materials to be used, including the kind of threads and cloth. All the ideas are then drawn on paper like a master plan to be executed. This is called plantilla.

Another factor to consider is the fabric. Velvet has more body than satin, while silk or satin has more shine than velvet. For life-size or larger santos, velvet is a good choice because the cloth will have a nice drop to it. Velvet also lets the embroidery shine more as this cloth normally has a matte finish. There is a type of velvet which uses silk that is softer and has a very elegant, subtle shimmer to it but it is rather expensive. Silk or satin normally has more feminine touch and is good for female or small santos because it is not as stiff as velvet. However,

the two materials can be combined, e.g., velvet for the manto and satin or silk for the túnica. The secret is not to go overboard with the glimmer especially for processional santos.

Basic steps in embroidery:

1. Prepare the fabrics to be used. Heavier materials for outside garments like manto or capa are preferred. For the inner dress or vestida, a lighter one is recommended. Velvet and satin are a good combination. Sometimes when budget is less, cotton can also be used but it is not as durable as the velvet or satin. Velvet or mohair which is of upholstery grade is not a recommendation because of the toxic fumes emitted during embroidering; it is also tacky.

2. Make your measurements and your patterns on the desired cloth. Prepare also a bastidor (embroidery stretcher) that can accommodate your patterns.

3. Draw the design or the plantilla. In preparing the design, one of the important things to consider is the theme, or which santo the vestment is for. For instance, male santos require fewer design patterns of flowers and simpler curve lines, while female santos, especially of the Blessed Virgin Mary, require intricate designs, usually consisting of different patterns of flowers and leaves and more elaborate curve lines. Another thing to consider in creating your design is the choice of thread you will use. Real (not synthetic) gold or silver thread enhance patterns. It can also be a good combination if you use both the real or synthetic threads. Nowadays the high cost of real gold thread and scarcity of the material have forced embroiderers to use synthetic thread.

4. Lay down the fabric and the plantilla on the stretchers. You have to baste both fabric and plantilla on the bastidor to secure them. Cut out cardboard, newspapers, felt or your choice of filling for the patterns; sometimes cotton is used as filling. Baste the cardboard or any of your choice filling on top of the plantilla. Sew all the vines design and other curve lines that use no filling.

5. Start embroidering. When all the designs are all embroidered you will notice that the paper of the plantilla falls off and is then easily removed. Nowadays for a firmer embroidered pattern, a small cord is placed on the edges of embroidered design.

6. Put all the vestments together. Sew all the lining. A good choice for lining is satin but for less budget, cotton can be used since it is hidden at the back of the vestments anyway.

Kinds of Thread

1. Bullion Thread - also called locally as inuod thread (from the word uod, meaning worm) because of its worm-like look when cut up for embroidery or accents for a pattern; has the appearance of tightly coiled springs in long bunches; also used as bugle beads when placed on the linings of vestments;

2. Flat Plate Thread - valued for its shimmer (synthetic thread has a similar shimmer because it is made of Lurex, and is longer-lasting); it easily tarnishes although this tarnish identifies the embroidery as authentic;

3. Cords, cordon nets - may vary in size, shape and thickness, and may be single cord or two or more cords twisted to form a single cord; may be synthetic or real metal sheet; and may be smooth or rough. This kind of thread is used as the stems of flowers and leaves, vines and other accents. It can also be used for embroidering flowers and leaves, as well as for edging antique embroidery when transferring it to another, usually new, cloth.

Different types of these threads are available in gold or silver, and are of different shades; they can also be shiny or matte-finished, smooth or textured. To add beauty to the embroidery vestments sequins are also added to the flower patterns which in the end look like a kaliskis (fish scales) design. The more fervent devotees sew precious and semi-precious stones on their santos' vestments. Devotees who have received miracles or favors offer ex-votos (silver votive) which eventually become fixed fittings on the vestments.

THE ART AND CRAFT OF THE SANTERO

FOR PRACTICAL REASONS, THE SANTO-MAKING INDUSTRY IN PAMPANGA CO-EXISTS WITH ITS FURNITURE INDUSTRY

By Alex Castro



Many Kapampangan santeros, encarnadores, plateros, etc. apprenticed in the shops of Maximo Vicente in pre-war Quiapo (above) and master carver Isabelo Tampingco (right) in the late 1800s



in ivory and also the retablos of San Agustin. By the 19th century, Quiapo in Manila and Paete were the seats of the country's carving industry. Historian Sinibaldo de Mas wrote of the many overly-decorated images of saints and virgins carved in Manila, with hands and heads of ivory, richly dressed and kept in gilded cases.

Binondo-born Isabelo Tampingco, a descendant of Rajah Lakandula, was another eminent carver who set up shop along R. Hidalgo St., together with Graciano Nepomuceno. He was responsible for the carving of the magnificent San Ignacio santo in the St. Ignatius Church, unfortunately destroyed in 1945. Tampingco

WHEN Spanish missionaries came to Christianize our islands, they brought with them religious pictures and images of saints which became potent instruments of evangelization. These artful images were used to demonstrate the power of the new religion over paganism and Islam, and soon, carved "santos" were replacing primitive anitos in home altars, becoming the new focus of household devotion. Thus began a tradition of santo-making in the country—and from Manila to Pampanga, local santeros practiced their craft by carving thousands of holy images copied from estampitas and styled by their imagination.

In his book "Philippine Religious Imagery", Fernando Zobel de Ayala classified Philippine santos according to style: Popular, Classical and Ornate. Popular style santos are those made by unschooled hands, thus characterized by naive elements such as disproportionate-size limbs, grotesque-looking faces, and the inclusion of native details as replacements of unfamiliar iconographic symbols (for instance, San Isidro's ox is replaced by a carabao or San Roque's dog becomes an "askal", a local asong kalye.) Santos of the classical style conformed to the refined images of traditional iconography and showed a higher level of cultured skill. Ornate-style santos, often referring to ivories, show a profusion of decorative motifs and other embellishments such as gold and silver.

Most santos were wrought by anonymous hands, although we know of one Juan de los Santos, an 18th century carver and a silversmith of note from Laguna who carved religious images

was the first to incorporate native floral motifs in his carvings such as anahaw and banana leaves.

Santo-collecting came into vogue in the 1930s, although earlier than that Trinidad Pardo de Tavera raised eyebrows when he started using santos as decorative accents for his house rather than for their originally intended purpose. Other early collectors were Arturo Dos Santos, Jose Bantug and Don Luis Araneta, who counts several santos of Pampanga provenance in his collection. The antique trade boom in the 1960s-1970s hastened the demolition of hundreds of church altars and generated criminal syndicates, sometimes in cahoots with antique traders. Many a precious santo has been lost in this unscrupulous fashion, like the 1984 disappearance of Cavite's Soledad de Porta Vaga.

The devotional art of the Kapampangan santero continues today, existing side by side with the province's furniture industry for practical reasons. In Guagua, Betis, Macabebe and even in Balibago, santero shops are still in business, producing not just religious statuary of wood but also of modern fiberglass, cast cement and resin. Just as crucial as the continuance of the santo tradition is the preservation of what is left of our "santos", now handful in number, hauled down from ancient altars, defaced by time and fodder for termites in some forgotten church bodegas. After all, these precious images, in all their scarred and disfigured beauty, were not just artful testaments to our skill, but also sublime expressions of a people's devotion to the Almighty, in the days when our faith was more unwavering, more profound.

Processional Carriages

RICH FAMILIES IN PAMPANGA SPEND MORE MONEY AND TIME ON THEIR CARROZAS THAN ON THEIR CARS

By Arwin Paul Lingat and Peter Joseph Nepomuceno



Cake-style carroza



Triumphal, or chariot



Ochovado, or eight-sided



Platform, or box-type

Different kinds of Carroza

The early processions of our ancestors used and; as a platform decorated float borne on shoulders by 2 or 4 people. Eventually in middle of 19th century, economic growth paved the way for the people to build big churches and provided their santos with more elaborate processional floats, vestments and accessories. A good example of which is Pampanga. It is very common for rich families here that family owned santos have land titles of their own, normally of farmlands for their upkeep and assurance to come out in procession every year and for the following generations of the family. It was also a common practice to give jewelry as a form of thanksgiving or sometimes part of the bargaining of a devotee for a wish or intentions granted. It was also in this same period that some andas were converted to carrozas. Carrozas are processional floats

mounted on wheels. Another term in the Philippines is Caro ("expensive" in Spanish); others say it came from the word carowaje, horse drawn carriages for rich people, while caritela was for the poor.

There are no recorded terms for the different kinds of carroza, but people in the 19th century and the people of the modern period coined traditional or colloquial names (some of them funny) to best describe the shape or look of the carroza.

1. Ochovado - referring to the shape having eight sides and one or two layers. It is probably the most common shape of carroza and thought of to be mass produced. Probably the most versatile among carrozas because it can be used for almost any kind of santo.

2. Cake - there is no recorded ancient name for this kind of carroza. Modern people simply called it "cake" because of its layered look and shape just like a traditional birthday cake. It is usually consisting of eight

or ten equal sides; or round sometimes, and usually of two - three layers. It is in type of carroza where you will usually find the lusutan (air passing through) wood or pukpok carving technique.

3. Platform - colloquially called basketball court. It usually refers to a carroza of rectangular in shape, like a flat bed. Usually, 2 or more figures are placed here, like those scenes from Holy Week. This is the most familiar type of carroza used in Southern Spain, Mexico and Latin America.

4. Calandras - another form of carroza only for the used of Sto. Entierro (Christ lying in state) on Good Friday procession. It was patterned after funeral coaches from Europe, usually horse-drawn. There are extant examples of this kind in the Philippines in the early 20th century. It is said that most of the beautiful and elaborate ones can be found in Pampanga.

5. Triumphal - commonly called by lo-

cal folks as "chariot". This is considered to be the stretch limousine service for the grandest santos. It is like the Rolls Royce of the gods. It would be interesting to note that most of this kind of carroza can be found in the Kapampangan Region (Pampanga, Northern Bulacan and Bataan, West of Nueva Ecija). Although there are others found in the Tagalog Region it is believed that most of them were crafted in Pampanga or copied from the Kapampangan version. In terms of style and craftsmanship, the Tagalog version tends to be less graceful, flat and looks more like the sled used by Santa Claus. Some types of triumphal are referred to as "balsa" (boat/ship), to simulate galleons or ship. It is usually thought of that triumphals were copied from Spain, but definitely they were not, because there are no record to show that triumphal carrozas ever appeared in Spain. In fact, in an issue before the 2nd World War of a European magazine called "Excelsior" a triumphal from Intramuros bearing the image of Miraculous Medal (said to be made in Pampanga) was featured and the Europeans raved about it. It is a theory that triumphals were based in the monument of Queen Isabela in Madrid called Plaza La Cibeles. The triumphal was an early 20th century invention. Unlike many ochovados, it is specifically made for particular santos, therefore no two triumphals are exactly alike. It is usually reserved for the use of the Blessed Virgin Mary because of its feminine style; sometimes it is also utilized for certain Cristo images like Sto.

Niño, Resucitado, Cristo Rey. Triumphals are in fact a product of Kapampangan ingenuity and excessiveness. Since santo making and pukpok industry are very popular in Pampanga, combined with fervent Catolico Sarado devotion of the people and sometimes flamboyant tastes, Pampanga then and now has always been the carroza capital of the Philippines.

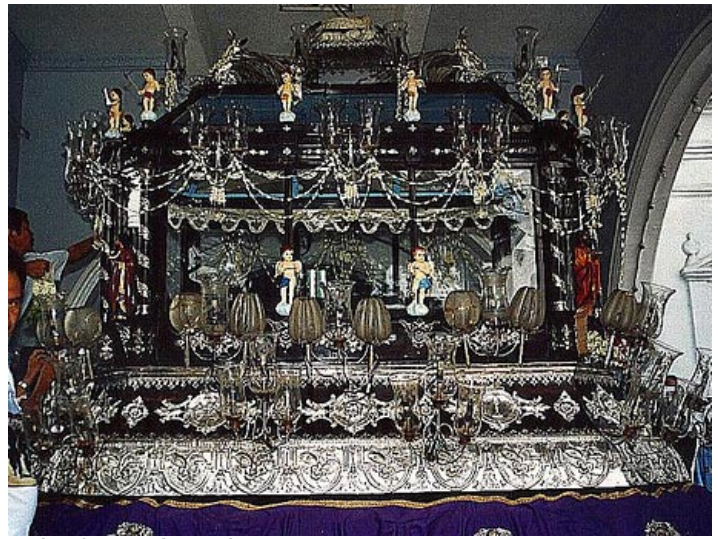
Additional Notes on Carroza:
Most andas were converted to carrozas during the late 19th - 20th century

Because of the popularity and prestige of a santo riding on a triumphal, some ochovados or cake style carroza were borne on top of platforms and embellished to simulate the look of a triumphal. A good example of this is the original La Naval de Bacolor which is now housed in the Museo dela Salle in Dasmariñas, Cavite.

Parts of the Carroza
Soyal - skirt of the carroza to cover the wheels inside.

Sobresoyal - a small rectangular cloth worn over the soyal, usually of lace or crocheted.

Sinepa - the border line between the



Calandra, or funeral pyre

soyal and body.

Pescante - branches of lights around the carroza, usually with virinas to cover the candles against the.

Albortante - branch of a candelabra.

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DIFFERENT WAYS OF CARVING A SANTO



De gonce, with movable limbs



De bulto, fully carved in round (the term "rebulito" came from this word)



Bastidor, carved bust with conical framework for lower body



Reliève, bas relief

The endangered giant lanterns of Pampanga

THE SHEER SIZE OF THE LANTERNS AND THE COST OF PRODUCTION MIGHT LEAD TO THEIR EXTINCTION



The Quiwa-David clan of San Fernando who redefined the giant lantern tradition in Pampanga. Right, one of the Quiwas' lanterns being hoisted by a crane in Japan

The Ligligan Parul of San Fernando is a competition of giant lanterns, some of which measure two- to three-stories high, trucked in from competing barangays to the church patio on the eve of Christmas. The competition showcases Kapampangans' ingenuity and craftsmanship, and their willingness to overspend just to produce a thing of beauty (each lantern can cost up to P300,000.00). The giant lanterns are products of collective effort and sacrifice, and

are considered genuine community heirlooms.

History. The tradition of illuminated lanterns in Pampanga began in early 19th-century Bacolor as part of the annual La Naval festivities in November. When the capital was transferred to San Fernando, the tradition followed as well. The shift to electricity-powered lanterns occurred in 1931; with the problem of lighting thus solved, the lantern makers focused on en-

larging the lanterns and enhancing their design and technology.

Rodolfo David, who died in 1971, is the acknowledged inventor of the rotor. David belonged to a family of lantern makers in barrio Sta. Lucia whose patriarch, Francisco Estanislao, pioneered lantern-making in San Fernando in the early 1900s. His son-in-law, Severino David, introduced battery-operated giant lanterns in the early 1940s. After World War II, the family popu-



Top, hairpins convey electricity from the rotor (above) to the giant lantern. Above right, Roland Quiambao is the most prolific and high-profile lantern maker today



larized the use of papel de japon for lanterns, which was a major aesthetic leap. Rodolfo David, aside from inventing the rotor, also produced a new lantern design in 1958 which has defined the so-called classic parul sampernandu and influenced practically all other succeeding lantern designs. The clan's present torchbearer is Ernesto David Quiwa, who introduced plastic vinyl as a more durable replacement to papel de japon. But the acknowledged king of giant lanterns nowadays is Rolando Quiambao,

whose passionate advocacy for the preservation of this unique folk art has attracted media attention.

Technology. The use of rotors to make the lanterns dance is both primitive and innovative. Rotors are large steel barrels rotated manually by a driver to synchronize with the music. Each rotor contains a map (actually the design of the light bulbs in the lantern) made of thousands of hairpins (aspilé); strips of masking tape covers portions of the rotor so that when the rotor is turned, the flow of electricity to the lantern is cut and released according to the map, thus producing the illusion of dancing lights. The beauty of a giant lantern hides the complex network that powers it: 4000 light bulbs individually nestled in a vast mesh of wires, cardboard and foil, covered with layers upon layers of colored paper and plastic, and connected to the rotors by hundred of yards of electric wire tangled like spaghetti at the back of the lantern.

Native hats and capes

Kupiang ebus makers were once found in Barrio Sucad, Apalit. Production started declining immediately after World War II. Historian Mariano Henson noted that the decline started much earlier, in the 1920s, due to the scarcity of ebus. Pandan lalaki became the only available raw material in the market.

Turung, kalapio and takuku

In San Pedro, Minalin, most people still practice the art of making turung, kalapio and takuku. Turung is a cone-shaped hat while the takuku (some call it tukaku) is a kind of cape made from sasa leaves, used as protection against the rain. In some areas like San Simon, kalapio resembles the old takuku, which was a head covering made of katsa cloth with a little opening for the eyes to see, often worn together with a turung. On the other hand, the usual size of today's turung

ranges from the pilmera (which is the biggest), segunda, talsera, and kintana. The pilmera is about the size of a big igu (native strainer-like unrestricted basket). The sasa leaves which are the major raw material used in the production of both turung and takuku were once abundant in the area but are now hard to find. In fact, suppliers come from as far as Dagupan in Pangasinan.



Families who still make these handicrafts include the Reyeses, Pinedas, Manabats and Deangs of San Pedro, Minalin. Other articles that they create include salakab (native fishing basket) and buslu (native fish basket container). The latter is made of yantuk balangkas (main framework).

If the Chinese introduced the umbrella and the Spaniards influenced the use of Mexican-inspired capote, the Kapampangans' turung, takuku and sumbrelu provided better protection against rain and sun. (J PM)

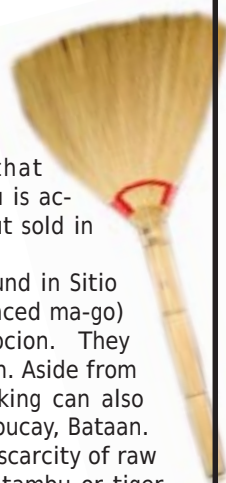
MADE-IN-TARLAC BROOMS

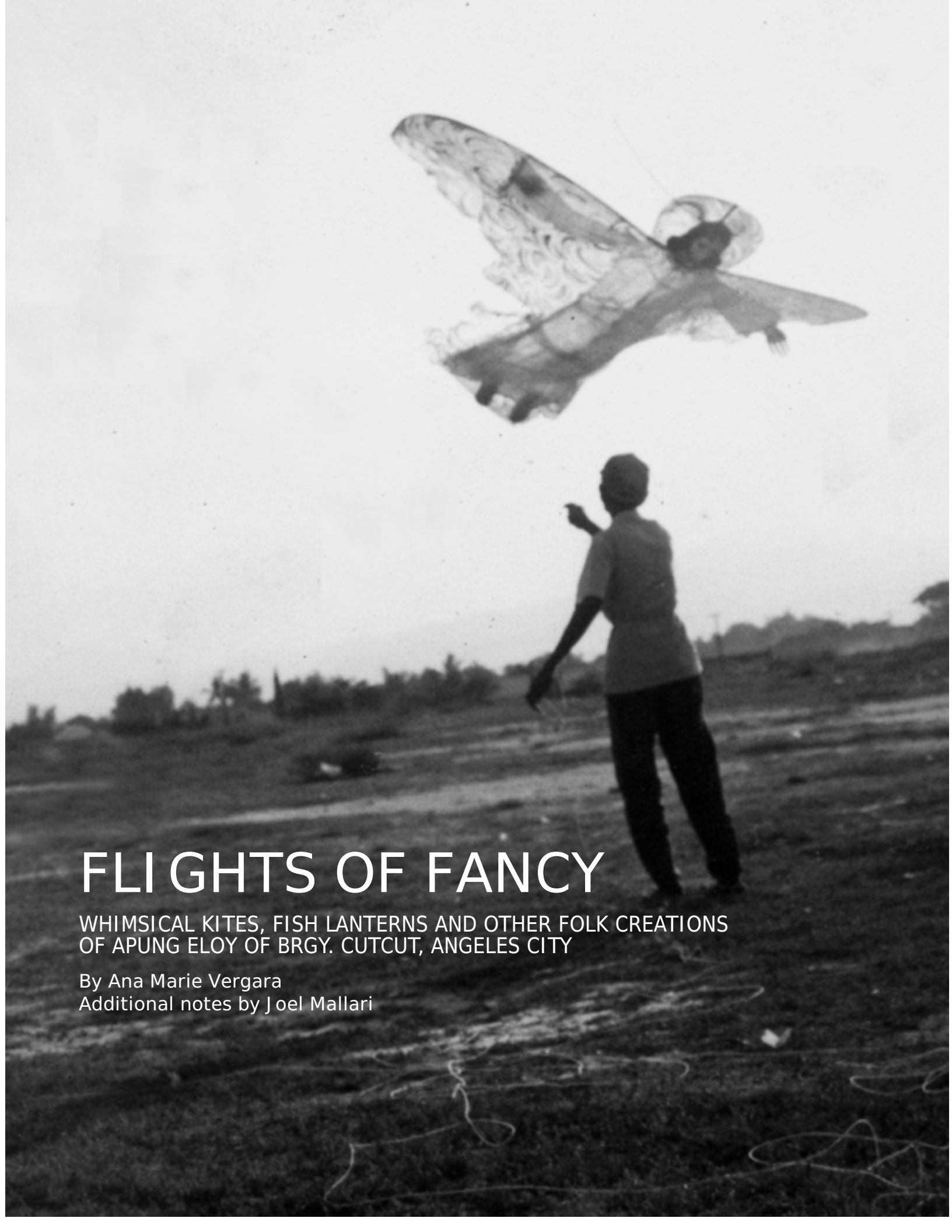
By Arnel D. Garcia & Miguelito Gabilan

The soft broom that Kapampangans call palis tímbu is actually a product of La Union but sold in Baguio City.

Magpapolis can still be found in Sitio Capcap in Brgy. Magao (pronounced ma-go) and Brgy. Culatingan in Concepcion. They used to be found also in Bamban. Aside from these Tarlac towns, broom-making can also be found in Brgy. Mabatang in Abucay, Bataan. One cause of the decline is the scarcity of raw materials like flowers of dikut tambu or tiger grass (which is now being sourced from Masbate and Catanduanes in the Bicol region; Baguio City and certain parts of Nueva Ecija and Davao).

Dikut tambu or simply tambu (*Thysanolaena maxima*) is transformed into palis tímbu through a grueling and elaborate process of manually removing pollens and flowers from the grass stalks. Removing the pollen grains from the flower at the tip makes the stalk bendable and ideal for a soft broom. This is one of the most important and indispensable aspects of making this native article. Traditionally, the butul sampaga (pollen) is removed by shaking and brushing the flower stalks against walls, tree trunks, and hard surfaces similar to the harnessing of leaves of ilib (Cogon grass, *Imperata cylindrica*) used in constructing native kubu houses. Tímbu is usually harvested late September only. Among the families in Concepcion that are recognized as broom makers include the Zabala, Canlas, Espino, Dizon and Maninang families. (Other source: Koyang Gerry Canlas)

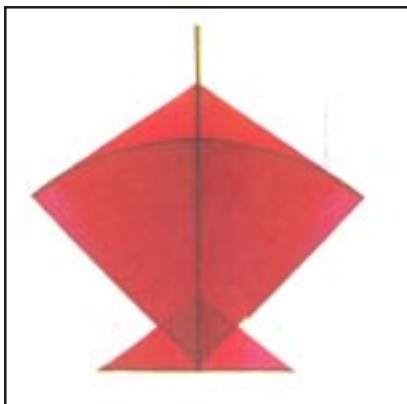




FLIGHTS OF FANCY

WHIMSICAL KITES, FISH LANTERNS AND OTHER FOLK CREATIONS
OF APUNG ELOY OF BRGY. CUTCUT, ANGELES CITY

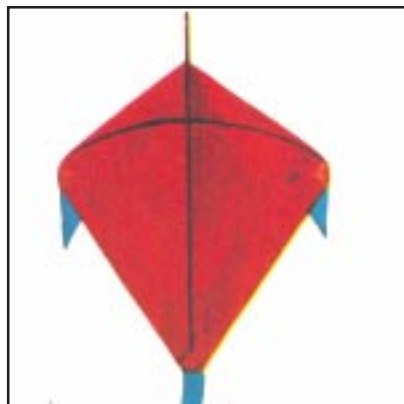
By Ana Marie Vergara
Additional notes by Joel Mallari



PANYAKLIT, fighter kite

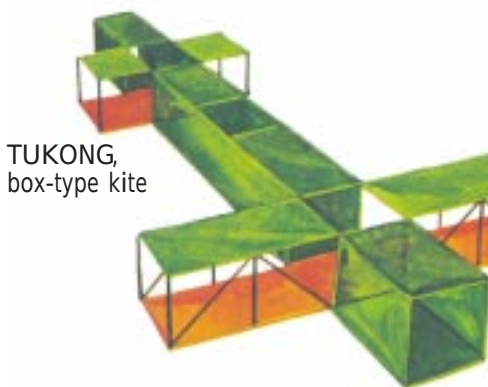


KARANG-KARANG, simplest kite, usually made of paper



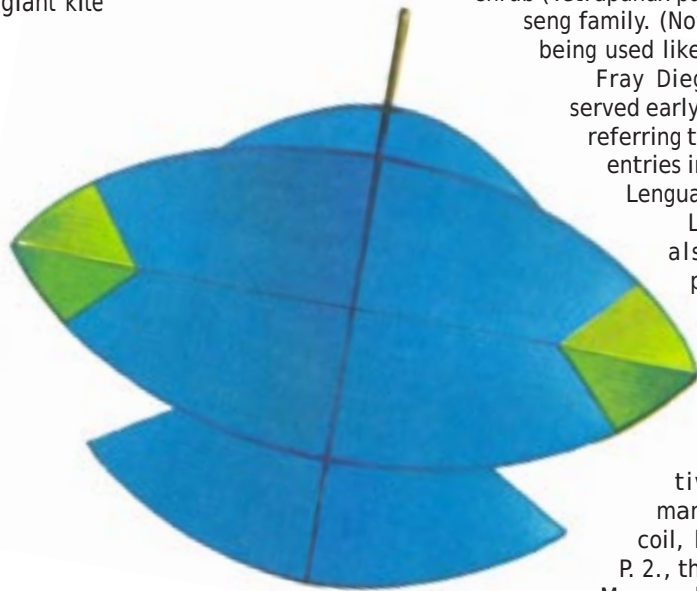
SAPI-SAPI, traditional diamond-shaped kite

string. Our ancestors called it a karang-karang because it reminded them of karang, the light awning of a banca usually made of thatched pinaud. Bergaño, on the other hand, defines a carangcarang as "small carriages, given to



TUKONG, box-type kite

GURIUN, giant kite



enemy's palace. Another flying device called 'the sacred fire crow' could carry explosives to attack an enemy. Later, the kite came to be used more for pure enjoyment.

In other places in the Philippines kite is known as saranggola (Tagalog), banog-banog (Visayan), burador (Bicol) or papagayo. In Pampanga, we call it burarul (from the word bulador, Spanish word for kite). It is generally made of split bamboo and rice paper, or a thin papery material made from the pith of a small Asian tree or shrub (*Tetrapanax papyriferum*) of the ginseng family. (Now, other materials are being used like silk and wires).

Fray Diego Bergaño, OSA observed early types of local kites by referring to them in various word entries in his *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampango*:

Limbe, or limbayan, also palambay, or, palambayan, "give it more string, like what boys do with their kites, so the kites could soar higher...;"

Langcul. (pp.) Active verb, ilangcul, manlangcul, "to twist, to coil, like, a rope. P. 1. and P. 2., that which, like, rattan. Maca, become entwined,

coiled. Mag, reciprocal, like the snake coiling itself. Paglangculan, the place.

In contemporary times, lungkulan is the term Kapampangans use for loosening and tightening the string of a kite. Itubung, on the other hand, means to tie the kite to a post (Tutubung mi la ring burarul mi king antena ban lang sulapo mas matas).

One simple type of local kites is the karang-karang, which is nothing but a piece of paper with two folded sides, tied to a

children when they are learning to walk," i.e., the modern-day walkers, adding, "And sometimes it is said of grown-ups who walk with such eccentric or odd steps." Thus, kites, baby walkers and groggy adults all share the same word karangkarang because they have the same jerky movements. Bergaño further adds, "ipangabbius me iyang carang, loosen the carang from the thorns among which it is entangled."

During summer and the cooler months of September to December, kites are a common sight in almost all places in Pampanga, because of favorable winds. Young men as well as children compete for the largest and strongest kite. Flying kites takes place in rice-fields, grazing areas and even in the cemetery. Some kites are even tied to a post, antenna or gate where they are left to fly for days.

Kite combats called saquiran or saklitan are often held. Usually two kites take part in the fight. Once the kites are in the air

KINDS OF KITES

Karang-karang - basic kite made of folded paper and string

Sapi-sapi - traditional kite, diamond-shaped

Tukong - box type, dimensional, geometric, consists of four sides

Panyaklit - fighter, pointed and competitive kite, usually made of plastic for durability and lightness

Gurion - the giant of the kites which can fly at the very high altitude. Requires at least 2 persons to operate it, one who will hold the string and the other will lift and throw the kite in the air. Size is 3 ft. or higher.

Porma at Uri - figures, the design are based on animals, images, and people (Can also classified as gurion because of its size).

Kites are believed to have originated from China. The Chinese have flown kites for at least 2,500 years. They were probably the first people to make kites, constructing them of wood, then silk and bamboo. After the invention of paper, it became the favored material. The earliest function of kites appears to have been military. Legend has it that Han Xin, a famous general (206-202 B.C.) flew a wooden kite and used the length of the string to determine his distance from the

APUNG ELOY CAN MAKE ANYTHING FLY, EVEN A FERRIS WHEEL

village's best and worst jobs: he was the village chief and cemetery caretaker at the same time.

Apung Eloy was Cutcut's *teniente del barrio* (barangay captain) from 1948 to 1951. From 1848 to 1988, he worked as the *sepulturero* (cemetery caretaker) of the town's old Catholic cemetery, located just across his house in Cutcut. He was elected to the barangay council in 1960 and served as councilor until 1972, when martial law was declared.

He started making kite as a hobby way back when he was still a boy; he turned professional kite maker after winning the top prize of P1500 in a Jaycees-sponsored kite flying competition held at Clark Field in 1991. In 1992, he won the Bear Brand-sponsored kite festival and won again, and has not stopped winning ever since.

Actually, what makes Apung Eloy a folk artist is the design of his kites. His kites take the form of birds, superheroes, fish, animals, angels, saints, even national heroes, each personally hand-painted by him. But what makes him a folk genius is that he can make them fly. Recently, he built a miniature ferris wheel, made of soft drinks straws and barbecue sticks, complete with details such as tiny dolls strapped to their individual seats. When the kite flies, the ferris wheel rotates high up in the sky like the real thing. It is truly a wonder to behold.

Apung Eloy also developed the concept of folding kites, using wires as hinges, for easy mobility, especially to and from competition sites.

Some of his creations have been bought and subsequently flown to Taiwan, the Middle east, London and Los Angeles. He has also conducted workshops on kite making at Shangri-la Makati, and locally in Magalang, San Fernando, Arayat and Mexico.

Aside from flying and designing kites, Apung Eloy is the only surviving maker of fish lanterns in Pampanga.

According to historian Mariano Henson, the traditional Christmas lantern procession, called *lubenas*, once featured an array of animal lanterns, representing symbols of Christ, the most spectacular of which was the fish lantern. Its fins, mouth and tail, made of bamboo sticks and *papel de japon*, could move based on an internal contraption. It served as an added attraction to the religious procession. Today, only a few barangays in Angeles City still have the fish lantern in their *lubenas*, and only



Top, Apung Eloy's grandson appreciates the papier-mache Nativity figures which will be displayed at the intersection near the public cemetery in Cutcut, Angeles City. Above, Apung Eloy applies finishing touches on the fish lantern, to be used during the *lubenas* (Christmas lantern procession).

and at a quite high altitude, the competition begins. The aim is each kite flyer to bring down the kite of his opponent by making his own kite poke at, swoop upon, or cut the string of, the other kite. This requires careful timing and calculation, especially in pulling the string, releasing it, and making it entwine the other kite's string until it snaps. Another technique is attacking the other kite with the *tusuk* of the kite's *buntut*, until the other kite is so perforated with holes it loses its aerodynamics and crashes to the ground.

The kite looks light and fragile but is actually a war machine that's made for the kill. Its *galudgud* (spine) protruding

through the kite's *buntut* (head) becomes the kite's *tusuk* (pointer), which is both for balance and for attack. To prepare the kite's string for cutting the opponent's string, old electric bulbs are smashed and pulverized, mixed with moist flour and then rubbed around the string, making it sharp enough to cause injury on kite flyers and bystanders (flyers usually wear thick gloves). This paste of ground glass and flour is called *paragas*; some flyers experiment with boiling the glass with water and cola to make it more lethal.

APUNG ELOY, FOLK ARTIST

Eulogio Catahan, 78, of Barangay Cutcut in Angeles City, once held his

PARTS OF A KITE

Galudgud (spine) - vertical stick that serves as the kite's backbone
 Pikurus (spar)- horizontal stick(s) tied to the galudgud; usually bow-shaped

Panabit (frame)- sticks that frame the galudgud and the pikurus and hold the stretched bulung to form the kite's body

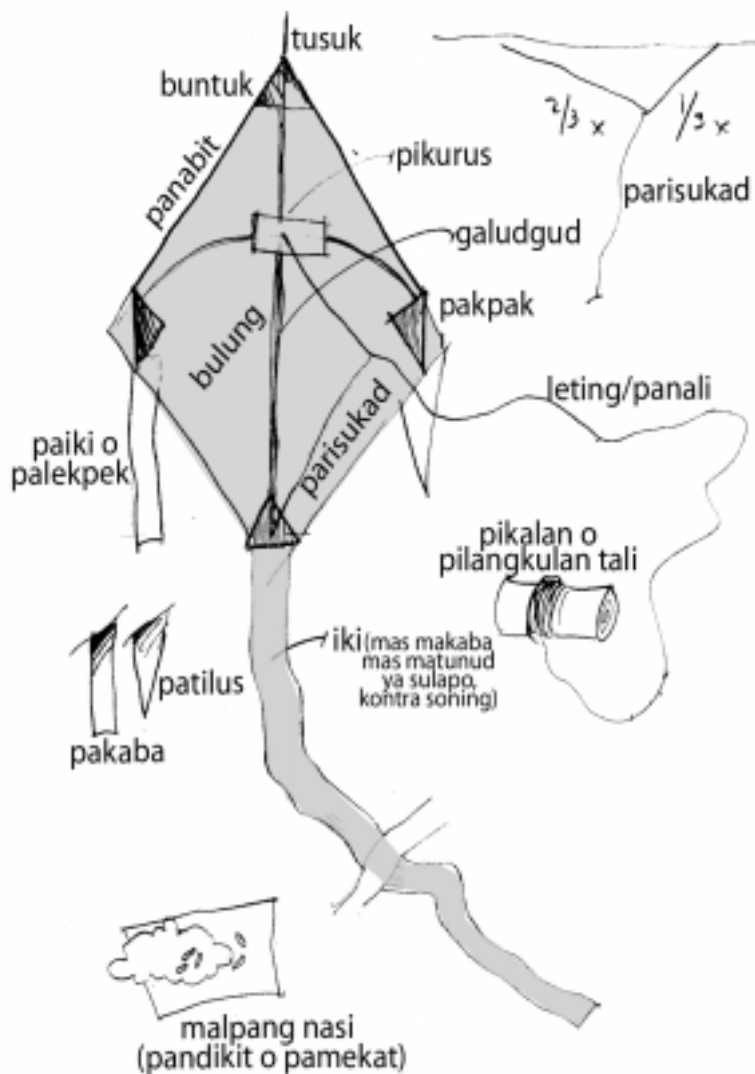
Bulung, katauan (cover) - the paper, plastic, or cloth cover of the kite's frame

Parisukad (bridle) - one or more strings attached to the spine or spars, which steady the kite in the air

Tali (flying line) - the string running from the kites' bridle, all the way down to the flyer's hand that holds it

Iki (tail) - a long strip of paper or plastic that balances the kite during ascent and flight; not all kites need tails

Palekpek or paiki (reel)- the object used to weigh down the flying line or side of the kite, to keep it from getting tangled or from flying away



BURARUL

Apung Eloy makes them.

SAKLITAN BURARUL

The City of San Fernando, with the help of giant lantern maker Roland Quiambao, organized the first Saklitan Burarol in December 2003. The competition had three categories:

Singkatunud - kites with the steadiest flights

Singkasanting - best-designed kites

Pakluran/ Saklitan - combat of kites

Although San Fernando's kite festival had another successful run the following year, it has since been discontin-

ued. Past organizers wish the local government would revive it to balance the festive nights of giant lanterns this time of year with equally festive days of kite flying.

Materials in making kites

Newspaper, Japanese paper, crepe paper, plastic, glacyr or silk, palis-tingting (sweeper's broom), bamboo (make sure to use matuang kuayan, or old bamboo that's at least 1 yr. old), malpang-nasi (boiled rice), flour with water, paste, rugby or glue, crayons, acrylic paint (for decorations), string, thread

Sources: Filipino Heritage, Ethnography by Ricardo Galang, www.hawaii.edu, and Victor Koo.

HOW TO MAKE A KITE

Materials: palis-tingting, newspaper or used paper, glue or paste, thread or string

STEPS:

Cut out a 14-inch square of paper. Tip: Fold diagonally before cutting.

For the first stick, break off the thin end to leave it about 2 inches shorter than the diagonal of the square (i.e. so that you have a 2-inch flap of paper at the corner).

Place one end on the corner of the paper, and put it diagonally. At the other corner of the paper, apply glue and fold over the stick.

Cut out two pieces of paper (about 2 inches square), apply glue and use them to secure the top end of the stick as well as the middle.

Bend the second stick into a curve. The length should be enough to touch the corners when bent (trim the length by breaking off the thinner end of the stick). Bending the stick ensures the kite is taut enough so that it catches the wind when flown.

Apply glue at the corners of the big square paper and fold them over to secure the bent stick in place

Punch small holes in the kite, 2 inches from the both ends.

Thread a doubled-up string through the holes and secure the string. Tie the string such that the front end is slightly shorter than the rear section ($\frac{2}{3} \times \frac{1}{3}$). Tip: If both sections are of the same length, the kite wouldn't fly. If the rear section is longer than the front, your kite would fly backwards. Loosen your grip on the string when the kite is diving to avoid total landing.

Cut the remaining paper into long thin strip. Use glue to join the strip and attach it to the kite for its tail.

Decorate the kite if you wish. Attach the string to the kite and you're ready for your kite to catch the wind.

Material culture means artifacts produced by the people to meet their ecological and interpersonal needs: homes, implements, weapons, attire, decorative arts, music, games and food. These are visible and concrete components of culture. Changes in culture are important by virtue of their close relationship with social organizations, local practices and values. They are the artifacts (manufactured goods and diaries of processes) that result from the development of technology. Such artifacts include: processed foods, shelters (from rude huts to elaborate temples), items of clothing, and other material objects and devices introduced to the society.

Understanding the material culture of the primitive Kapampangans, specifically, the Negritos of Pampanga and Tarlac, enables us to see ourselves better. Ordinarily, we are unaware of the special lens through which we should look at life. The scientists of human affairs learn as much about the eye that sees than the object seen. Anthropologists present a great mirror to man and let him look at himself in his infinite variety. This, and not the satisfaction of idle curiosity or romantic quest, is the meaning of the anthropologist's works in non-literate societies.

Hence, this article brings to every reader a journey to the past and inter-connects it to the present vis-à-vis selected material culture of the primitive Kapampangans.

UTENSILS

Lubon. The lubon (pack-basket) is a bamboo handicraft made and used by the Inarraro Negrito women. It is used to hold root crops gathered from the fields. A belt which is usually placed on the head is provided on the lubon to facilitate ease in carrying it.

When not used in the fields, it is utilized at home to hold sartin plates and

cups, coconut shells, dirty clothes and other household items of a typical Inarraro Negrito family. When transferring from one place to another, one or two lubons are used to hold household items.

Tukil. The tukil is a bamboo tube of single node closed at the bottom and with a wide opening on top big enough for the hands to pass. It is used to hold salt, arrows and feathers. The Negritos have healthy stomachs. Provided there is salt and rice, all is well. While rice is still hot, it is placed

ing utensil is called patolang by the Kapampangan Negritos. Food preparation utilizing green bamboo tubes as utensils consist of:

(1) Cooking with the use of a single node bamboo with one end open. The part exposed to fire is closed. Food is cooked while the bias (a node), with a support from below, is in horizontal position. The node on the top is carefully removed so that it can also serve as cover. Only fresh green bamboos are recommended as utensils. The taste of the food is unfavorably if old-dry bamboos are used.

(2) The double-boiler is another kind of cooking utensil. The utensil consists of two main parts, the smaller and bigger bamboo tube. The small tube is inserted into a larger bamboo tube that is filled with water. In case a smaller bamboo is not available, a smaller tube could be had by skinning or removing the true skin of the bamboo with the aid of a bolo, thereby reducing its diameter to be accommodated into the bigger tube and for water to be lodged. Unlike the first utensil, the double-boiler is heated in a perpendicular position.

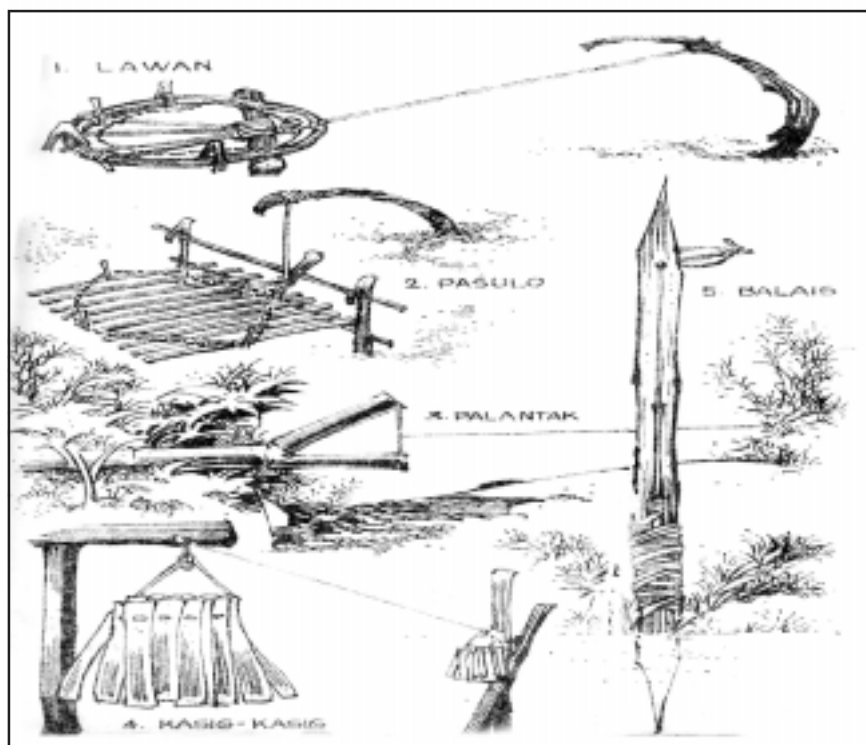
(3) The third is the bamboo with two cooking partitions. The first tube may be used for cooking rice, gabi (taro), ube (yam), and other root crops while the second tube partition is used for cooking fish or other available viand. The tube is utilized while it is in horizontal position supported by Y-shaped fresh green pegs. In both tubes, slanting cuts are made with the bolo. Uncooked food is placed

into the tube through these slanting cuts and then covered again with the removable covers. The green bamboo utensils are almost burned after cooking. To retrieve cooked rice, they are split length-wise. The bamboo tubes are burned and destroyed after one cooking and are thrown away if not used as fuel. Rice cooked in green bamboo utensils is more palatable than the rice cooked in metal utensils like the alumi-

DISAPPEARING GADGETRY

TRADITIONAL UTENSILS, WEAPONS, TRAPS AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF PRIMITIVE KAPAMPANGANS AND AETAS

By Dr. Rodrigo M. Sicat



Some of the indigenous traps used by native Kapampangans and Aetas

on banana leaves. With plain water used as soup and salt as ulam (viand), a good viand could be had. Longer bamboo tubes hold prized arrows, especially those that have been successfully used in shooting and killing wild animals. Feathers are also placed inside the tukil. Feathers are used to balance the arrow shaft from its take off stage to its landing time during hunting.

Patolang. In general, the bamboo cook-

num caldero (pots).

All tubes used for utensils as well as for storage are made from bamboo (Scientific name: *Bambusa vulgaris* Shrad. and *Bambusa spinosa* Blm). Some species of bamboo, provided they are dry, are also utilized for kindling fire in the absence of matches and other fire-making devices like lighter.

Sandok (ladle) is a blade-scooped utensil made of halved coconut shell tied to a wooden handle. Coconut shells are also used as plates and drinking vessels. Bigger coconut shells serve as basin for washing hands before eating.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Some of the known musical instruments of the Negritos are: buluyung udyong (bamboo flute), tambuli/patutut (trumpet made out of carabao horn), tabung-bung (bamboo drum) and guitar.

Bulung-udyong. The bulung-udyong is a musical instrument played in the evening. It is made out of special bamboo specie. It has five small holes, two on one side and three on the other. It is about one to one and one-half feet long. In the olden days, it was used to keep strangers away especially the enemies. Enemies were made to believe that the Negritos are still awake.

The bulung-udyong is given much care by the Negritos. It is placed on a ihawit (flute hanger) when not in use.

Tambuli. Another musical instrument is the tambuli/patutut (trumpet) used by the Negritos to make announcements. When they go hunting in the mountains, they bring besides the bolo and bow and arrow, a tambuli. When they catch or kill an enemy, the tambuli is sounded to announce the event so that those back home would know.

The tambuli is made of discarded carabao horn. Through the Negrito ingenuity, they are able to produce sound from it.

Tabung-bung. The tabung-bung (drum) is a musical instrument that is used by the Negritos during their religious activities. It is a meter long drum used only in the ceremonies for the spirits. It is made of kawayang mantug (*Bambusa spinosa* Blum). All of the nodes are knocked out and one end is covered with a piece of tanned deer skin. The drum is purely used in ceremonies; it is never played, even tapped, at any other time.

Guitar. The home-made guitar is used during religious rituals and social gatherings although the lowland guitar is slowly taking the place of the crudely home-made guitar. The mountain gui-

tar is made of wood roughly smothered with the bolo. It has four nylon or piano wire strings attached below the bottom hole and the handle. It is tuned by adjusting the finger-like pieces found at the bent handle of the guitar. It is approximately three feet long with a hollow belly and a circular hole in the middle or center.

WEAPONS AND TRAPS

Weapons. The Negrito still utilizes a number of weapons for defenses and hunting-trapping purposes. These are: the bay

at paslo (bow and arrow), palang (bolo), sulbatana (blowgun), paslo-baril (crossbow), paltik (shotgun), and pandacdac (dagger).

The arrowshaft is provided with metal arrow points designed for different purposes. These arrowpoints are called binuran, bilacan, balangat, biniling, dumpil, hawil, puihw, halapon, and talumang.

Traps. A sizeable number of traps are still utilized by the Negritos. Among these traps are the lawan, patikding, bintay/balsis, baih, paruklo and others. Aside from these traps, the Negritos use two warning devices to call their attention when somebody is coming. These warning devices are called the palantak and kasig-kasig. The two warning devices, placed across a path, are designed to give sound once the string to which they are attached, is disturbed.

The palantak is constructed out of dry bamboo which is split up to one in-mode length. This end is slowly and carefully opened and a piece of wood is inserted between the split pieces to serve as trigger. The trigger in turn is tied by a vine or green nylon cord which is placed across the path where intruders are expected to pass, and the other end of the vine is tied on the opposite tree. When someone steps or disturbs the rope vine, the trigger is released and the two pieces of bamboos create a sound loud enough to warn the Negrito of the presence of someone not familiar to the environment.

The kasig-kasig is another device utilized by the Negritos. Several pieces of dry and split bamboos of about one-half by five inches are tied together by a nylon cord in a circular shape. All of these pieces of bamboo are attached to a common cord which is placed across the path where strangers are expected to pass. This cord when disturbed or stepped on transmits the disturbance to several bundles of split pieces of hanging dry bamboos which produces sound to warn the Negritos. The sound is the kasig-kasig, hence, the name of the warning device.

Today, many of these precious heritages are lost due to the displacement of the Aytas: invasion of ancestral domains, the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo, lowland migration, cultural contamination and other reasons.

Reference:

Cosme, Ernesto O. (1974). Inarraro Negrito: A Case Study in Education and Culture. (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Centro Escolar University, Manila)

TYPES OF TRIBAL ARROWS



Binuran, an arrowpoint with large metal, for hunting pigs



Bilacan, a trident-like point for shooting birds and bats. Note that this arrowpoint is made from a bamboo known to the Inarraro Negritos as baete



Balangat, trident-like point, used in shooting birds and bats. Note that arrowpoint is made of steel.



Halapon, employed in shooting birds and bats. Note that the three points are bound together at one common point.



Puihw, used by the Inarraro Negritos in shooting Lamarin (wild cats)



Biniling, extremely difficult to make, used and self-defense



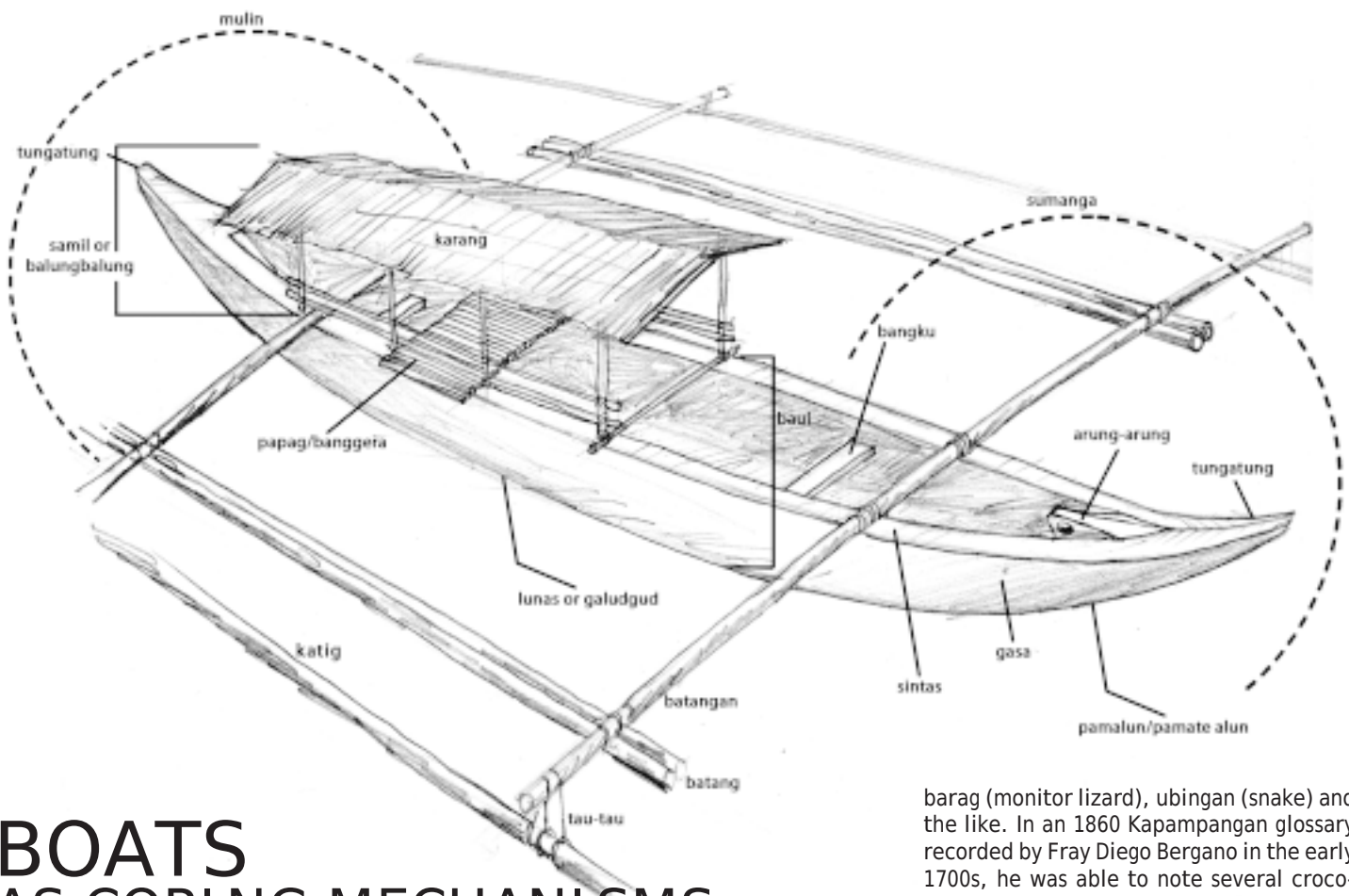
Dumpil, employed for fighting and for ceremonial purposes.



Hawil, for shooting wild cats.



Talumang, for shooting labuyo (wild chicken) and cats



BOATS AS COPING MECHANISMS TO FLOODS AND TIDES

FIBERGLASS, ALUMINUM, PLASTIC AND EVEN
STYROFOAM HAVE REPLACED CANOE-TYPE
WOODEN BOATS AS A RESULT OF THE LOGGING BAN

By Joel Pabustan Mallari

Bangka, baranggay, dapu, naga...

Oral Kapampangan tradition maintains that early boatmaking was once a flourishing industry within the present political boundary of today's Kapampangan-speaking region. The people held their ethnolinguistic identity as "Kapampangan", which defined them as people of the "riverbank". Thus their cultural pattern made it necessary for them to design transportation crafts like bangka which were adapted to deep and shallow waters.

Boats are believed to have been built around 3500 BCE, when the Egyptians developed carpentry skill for building plank watercraft and perhaps used these for a sickle-shaped boat. In China, ducks probably gave the Chinese the idea of making ships as evidenced by the recovery of a 5th-century BCE lacquered vessel in the shape of a mandarin duck. Traditionally Southeast Asian ships sailed across the Pacific Ocean to as far as the Easter Island. Here in the

Philippines boats recovered in Butuan, Agusan del Norte were round-bottomed, sail-propelled, rubber-steered and carbon-dated to be CE 320, which predated several European boat constructions. In Pampanga, it is within the vicinity of Candaba where the oldest evidence of boatmaking was discovered. This artifact called Daras Candaba (Candaba adze), is dated at about 5000 years old, made of polished basalt stone of the Neolithic Period. Other crafts and practices might have been difficult to achieve without the use of this type of tool. From boatmaking to exploration of other islands and seas, planting and the initial building of balen or settlements, this specialized tool of early communities played an important role in the evolution of the Kapampangans and the rest of the Filipinos. If the early Chinese were inspired by floating ducks, the early Kapampangans might have been enthused by the floating image of dapu (crocodile),

barag (monitor lizard), ubingan (snake) and the like. In an 1860 Kapampangan glossary recorded by Fray Diego Bergano in the early 1700s, he was able to note several crocodile words such as suba and subasuba which is particular to upstream navigation like a crocodile. In the same compilation, he also gave another spelling for a barangge (diphth. Baranggay) as barag-gay. This term referred to be a boat (whose passengers were the subjects of its captain, with him as their head which later on became the Cabeza de Baranggay, a town chief, and making his subjects as his cabangca). It is clear it was not misspelled since it was also given an emphasis on the hyphenated spelling. If this were so its root word might have been derived from this specie of reptilian lizard, barag. Another entry worth to associate to this idea is naga. It is described by Fr. Bergano as a "figure that is placed on the prow or bow of a boat". This figure was popular in pre-14th century Southeast Asia depicting a sacred snake recognized in Chinese mythology as a dragon. Thus crocodiles, snakes, dragons and other reptilian creatures play a significant role in the evolution of Southeast Asian culture where the Kapampangans geographically belongs. In fact the use of carved coffins with figures of crocodiles and humans were previously noted by J. de Plasencia (1589), P. Chirino (1602), A. de Morga (1609), D. de Bobadilla (1640), L.W. Benedict (1916), W.G. Solheim (1959), F.L. Jocano (1968 and 1975), and W.H. Scott (1994) to be known relatively throughout the Philippine archipelago. In effect this tradition is not only limited as

“accents” to banka but also found as ornamentations of native cannons called lantaka, and the corbels or zapata of old church and convent structures.

Bangka Ethnography

In the Kapampangan Region, canoe-shaped boats called baluto and balbaloto were made by carving out the inner portion of logs using several types of daras (adze, sometimes called as surgamat or sarul gamat pangbanka), gobia, lukub, pait (all chisel types), palakul and palatio (axes), and balibol (native drill),.

Most old boatmen in Pampanga and coastal towns from nearby provinces like Bataan and Bulacan point out that the early tradition of boatmaking purportedly originated in Paglalabuan (now Sta. Ursula), a village in the old Betis district of Guagua, Pampanga. Old families in the area such as the Layugs, Pabustans and Tolentinos still remember some of the noticeable remnants of traditional boat-making years in their area. These clans intensely narrate the village’s significant role in the production of various bangka, ranging from the longest to the smallest (from about 8 ft to 35-40 ft long). The old sites of the boatmaking industry include the old coastal villages in Sasmuan, and another in San Agustin, Candaba while remnants of a mid-night industry still exist in Abucay, Bataan. Such repair shops for old pieces can still be found in several villages of Sasmuan and Masantol and Candaba.

Next to this canoe-type is a “3-piece” small, since it uses 3 major pieces of wooden planks. Most of these types are common in San Luis, Minalin, San Simon and Candaba. In Sto. Tomas, Minalin Apalit and especially in Sasmuan of fiberglass and galvanized boats are now made. These pieces basically follow the general contours of canoe type boats but are now shorter in length. They appear lighter than the traditional bangka thus making them disadvantageous in strong current and waves. This new type of bangka threatens the traditional production of canoe type boats affecting the boat industry of Abucay. On the other hand, the mountains along Zambales



Prehistoric settlers in Pampanga dating back to 3000 B.C. already knew how to carve boats out of logs

are saved from deforestation.

Bangka types

Nowadays, the term bangka generally refers to any small, waterborne vessel that displaces and excludes the water surrounding it. Traditionally, boats are distinguished from ships by size--any vessel small enough to be carried aboard a ship is considered a

beam or rafters, gird, plank,” like the carang, probably due to its loaded capacity. The banca with fastened bamboos to the sides is quetigan; and guelagalan, the insulated or waterproofed boat. A boat that is beached by strong winds, but not wrecked or capsized, is described as bingbing or mibingbing. It is described as

boat. Early 18th-century Kapampangan vocabularies include bangka as a canoe or sampan, a general term referring to almost all kinds of boats in the Philippines. Other terms recorded include lamo, damulas, tapác, pang-ga, bire (diphthong biray), biruc, daung, lunde. The boat or barge that is loaded is called unda. The term bayoc may have been a common term then; it means “to become bent downwards, like, the floor, the

BOAT FOR THE DEAD

Boat-shaped coffins made of hard wood have been found in a limestone cave on the western side of central Cebu Island. In pre-Spanish times, the Filipinos commonly buried their dead in caves utilizing coffins of this type (some were beautifully carved). This practice still persists among some non-Christian peoples, such as the Bontoks of Mt. Province (see R.B.Fox 1960, Photo courtesy of the National Museum Collection).

This boat-shaped coffin could be similar to those uncovered in the old area of Balas now known Sitio Lalam-ungut of Brgy. Sta Cruz in Lubao, Pampanga which are said to have been made of bulaun wood (*Vitex parviflora* Juss.). These old coffins were said to contain not only human bones but also goods of various Chinese wares from the Ming Dynasty.



“BANGKABAUNG”

In Kapampangan bangka generally refers to a boat while kabaung is a casket or coffin. Both serve as “containers” the former for the living and the latter for the dead. Nowadays, the townfolks of Sto. Tomas, use their caskets as makeshift boats when their coffin shops get flooded during rainy season serving not only their immediate family but also the whole community. This adaptive practice is an evidence of their ancient character belonging to the early Austronesian speakers. The term kabang/bangka was once defined as a “container”. This town’s primary industry is casket making which has made Sto. Tomas one of the leading manufacturer of this infamous craft in the Philippines.

midunggul when it is violently dashed, usually against another boat on its cascos (the sides), not its proas (prows). The boat is leyagan when it is rigged with a sail; this also refers to the point of arrival, destination, or place of arrival, like paglayagan.

Examples of boats recognized by ordinary boatmen and fishermen of southern Pampanga include dune (or dunai), rowboat type. It is a small boat propelled by oars. It measures 12-14 meters wide and has a total production cost of PhP 6,000. It is a lightweight boat designed to be propelled through the water by one or more people rowing with oars. Pandakit, pandalakit, paro (parau), is another boat type used to service people, it is another means of transportation aside from jeepneys and tricycles. It runs with the help of a motor fueled by diesel. It is bigger than the dune. It measures 12-14 meters wide and has a total cost of about PhP 35,000. The panauid, lunde (lundai), a type of boat that also runs with the help of a motor. Just like pandakit it is used for business, for fishing and to transport people to nearby places. It measures 12-14 meters wide, and may cost around PhP 35,000 for the ordinary production. The deruit (or derwit) is the biggest among the bangka types used

in Pampanga. This is usually used to carry big loads of agricultural, industrial products and raw materials. Since it is a much bigger boat, its production cost may reach up to half a million pesos. It has an average lifespan of 50 years and can carry at least 50 passengers. The balutu, is a light narrow pointed lightweight canoe type boat identically pointed on both ends. It can be paddled by one or two people and sometimes can carry other people as passengers. Canoes were originally made from natural materials, but modern canoes are made of aluminum or of molded plastic and fiberglass such as those manufactured in Sasman. Another is the balsa which is an alternative form of bangka, used in flooded areas of the province. The materials used are traditionally bamboo or any of the now available lightweight materials like scrapped Styrofoams. This type is often used in Minalin, Sto. Tomas, Apalit, and San. Fernando especially during the flood season.

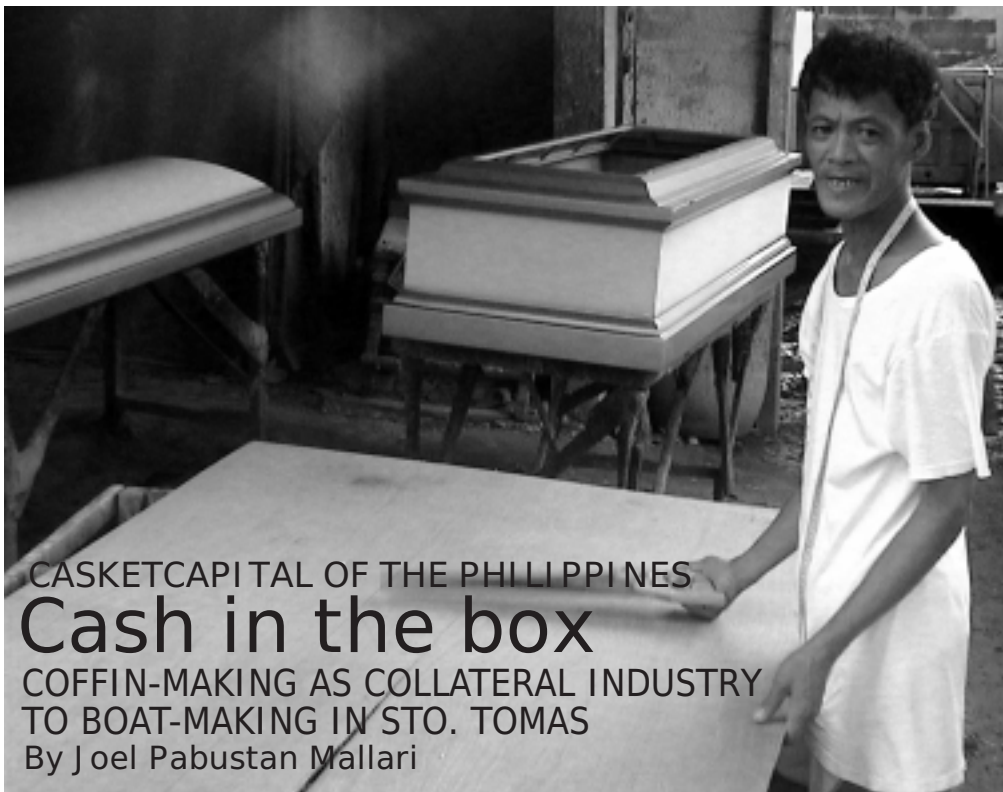
Raw materials and production

Hardwoods are the materials used for boat construction. As such, several wood types are preferred by boat makers and requested by boatmen. Among the light woods include tangili (a hard reddish brown mahogany) and the giyu (or gijo) type

which is one of the favorite specie for the construction of deruit. Other wood species include lauayan, antipulu (antipolu), pakalkal and santul. Kalantas was once the most in-demand specie of lightwoods but due to its scarcity and fast depletion of its natural habitat in the mountains of Zambales, it is now a rare find. Among the heavy wood varieties used that also float on water include kamatchilis, lakan, lalasapin, and akasia (kalubtus or patikulodiung). Bulaun and other specie of dipterocarps are no longer used since these varieties have poorer floating properties and are now banned for logging. The tools used in the production of modern bangka range from the traditional daras, bareta, pitik and various sets of chisels (pait, lukob...) to the modern-day chainsaws, grinders and other powertools.

The use of various bangka is adapted to the fact that Kapampangans especially those settled in the southern edge of the province usually experience extended periods of flooding brought about by long seasons of rains and typhoons, and by the periodic rising of tides.

Sources: Romeo Bonifacio, 58 yrs. old a boatmaker of Sagrada II, Masantol Pampanga; Etipanio Manansala 53 yrs. Old of Sagrada I, Masantol, Pampanga;



CASKETCAPITAL OF THE PHILIPPINES
Cash in the box
 COFFIN-MAKING AS COLLATERAL INDUSTRY
 TO BOAT-MAKING IN STO. TOMAS
 By Joel Pabustan Mallari

the workshops are located in barrio San Vicente. In this barrio, roads and small streets are lined with a lot of coffins showing different stages of production and types. Most workshops are small and a lot of residents have the technical skills and common artistry in the production of this fine craft. The said industry is one of the oldest in the province but it was in the post-war period when mass production prospered. During that period, kabaung (native caskets) were usually made of fine timber. The town is now acknowledging as the coffin capital of the Philippines.

The earlier version of kabaung was carved from a large single piece of log using planks instead of whole pieces for the purpose of maximizing the use of wood brought about by the decreasing availability of logs. From what the old mangabaung (casket makers) knew about the old practice, they associate the early technique of kabaung-making as a thing very similar to the early manufacture of canoe-type boats common in their area at the time. Thus

The smallest town in Pampanga in terms of land area produces same of the most important industrial products in the province. These include the indigenous casket industry, pottery making industry

and the manufacture of all purpose vehicles present in the Municipality of Sto. Tomas. Casket-making is not actually exclusive to this town as the makers can also be found in Minalin and nearby barrios, but most of

even to this day, tourists and non-residents of this town often mistake the coffins for boats when they see the unfinished pieces lined up not only along streets but also along riverbanks for drying.

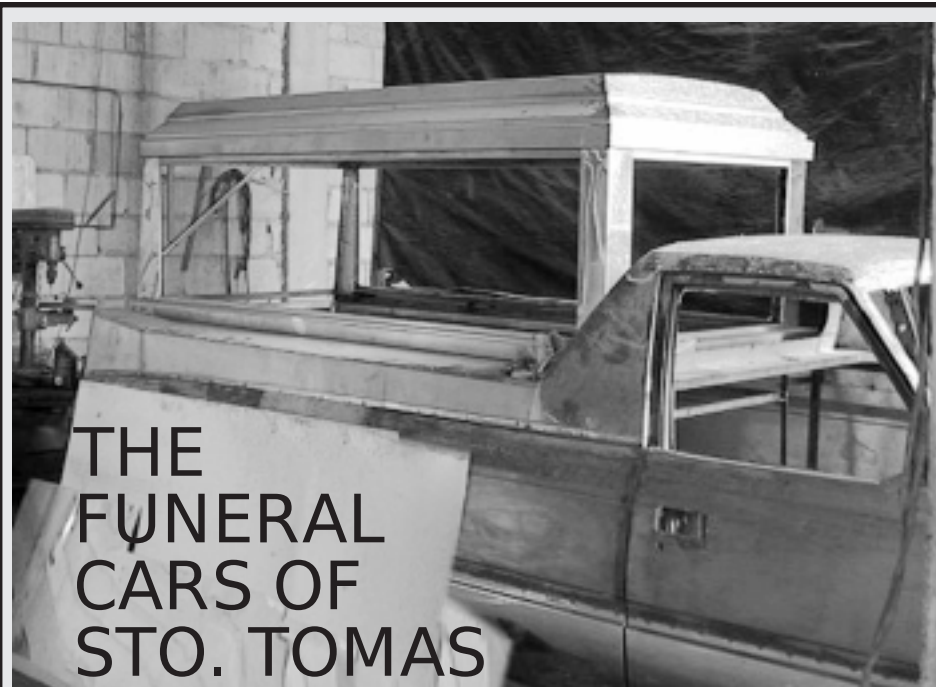
The production begins with the selection of the right materials like wood or in other cases sheets of metal. The production is not anymore done by a single craftsman as in old days but by a team of *anluagi* (or *kalpinteru*), *maninang* and *mag-welding*, *lateru* and *pukpuk* craftsmen, *masiliador* and *manisis*, *mag-upholstery*, *pintor* (painter, sprayers, air brush artists).

Today the production of *kabaung* is not only confined to the wooden types but also to a variety of resin, coated/molded and hammered metal sheet types. Their market is no longer exclusive to the province. It regularly supplies most of the funeral parlors in Luzon, among their fine pieces shipped all over the Philippines and even Hongkong. Casket sizes are standardized but the designs



are continuously innovated just to adopt to the fickle tastes of the market. Thus the style and color motifs range from the so called OMB (ordinaryung miki-burda) to the most colorful ones with floral decorations (like the most in demand tulip flowers design) and other

futuristic accents. In terms of cost range, the cheapest are usually made of ordinary lumber while the expensive ones have technological attachments like special vault capsules, glass materials, temperature controllers etc. Among the known workshops in Sto Tomas include JERMEL Metal & Wood Craft of the Reyes clan, SLMC Enterprises formerly L&N Wood & Metal Craft of the Arceos, Paralaya Wood Craft pioneered by Apung Eciong (Florencio Arceo) in 1972, RTJ Merchandising of the Canlas family, Selerino Woodcraft and Metal, ALCO Trading etc. Despite the great innovations of this industry, sales continue to dwindle today not only because of competition from other manufacturers in the Philippines also but because of the soaring prices of raw materials.



COFFIN MAKERS BRANCH OUT TO FABRICATING KARUNG PANGMETE OR KOTSING PAMBURUL

Most if not all ancient funerary beliefs are hinged around the concept of a journey to the afterlife. The *Manunggul jar* recovered in Palawan, for example, depicts our ancestors' idea of a boat ride to eternity. Thus, the practice of transporting a dead person from the house to his final resting place in the cemetery prefigures his soul's journey to the next life. In Pampanga, funerary beliefs and practices are so widespread and elaborate they constitute an entire subculture; in the town of Sto. Tomas, death is even a cottage industry.

It began as a coffin industry; recently, it has branched out to funeral cars, or *karung pangmete*. *Karo* is abbreviation of

carroza, Spanish for carriage, usually applied to the vessels carrying the religious images during procession. Kapampangans use the term to refer to a 'fashionable' funeral coach (limousine or car); in Sto. Tomas town where they now assemble them, they are called *kotsing pamburul* or *saken pamburul*.

Most *karos* in Manila and Central Luzon are manufactured in Sto. Tomas. *Karo* models range from the oldest extant cars in the Philippines like Mercedes Benz, Chevrolet and Cadillac to the modern Toyota, Mitsubishi, Nissan and Honda.

What the craftsmen of Sto. Tomas do is cut the car in half and then reconfigure it to look like a funeral coach with the ubiq-

uitous elongated rear for the casket. Customers, usually owners of funeral parlors, specify their designs to fit their tastes and needs, and they often provide the vehicle. Modifications include upgraded shocks, tires and wheels, axles, power train and numerous structural reinforcements to the frame, such as thicker cross members and shock tower braces.

FROM CAR TO KARO

When a car, usually the box-type model, arrives at the shop, its interior from the instrument panel back is dismantled and placed on a large cart, which bears the car's code. The frame is braced with a steel support to preserve its integrity, and then the destructive adventure takes place. Various metal craftsmen and artisans, known as *latero*, use several machine-shop tools to slice through the roof and sever the remaining roof support to create a *de facto* convertible.

A pre-assembled cage of welded tubular steel is lowered onto the bifurcated frame and attached through machined and dimensioned locations that ensure both a controlled fit and repeatability. In most cases, the wheel wells are boxed-out with structural steel, creating two long ledges on either side of the load floor, and a steel frame is welded over the floor which both raises the load floor and adds to the chassis' rigidity. Extensions of the floor pans, rocker panels and roof and side rails are then specially welded into place, producing models such as the so-called "Diana Style," designed after the hearse used for Princess Diana's funeral.

(By Joel Pabustan Mallari with Rowena L. Balagtas, Naiza G. Evangelista and Joan M. Tulabut)

APV: Cars made by folks in Brgy. Balangcas

THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO BAN EXPORTATION OF APV AND ALLOW IMPORTATION OF ITS FOREIGN VERSIONS IS KILLING THE INDUSTRY

By Joel Pabustan Mallari



Sarao, Amante, Amianan, Lawin, Malagueña, Malaysia-managed Francisco Motors, Armak etc.-- these are only some of the many assemblers of the acknowledged "king of the road" in this country-- the jeepney. In Pampanga, as early as the late decade of the 70s, there was already a production of XLT. The long stretch of Mc Arthur Highway in Brgy. Balangcas, Sto. Tomas, Pampanga has started to crowd on both sides with XLT makers/manufacturers.

XLT actually stands for "extra light support", since this type of vehicle is much lighter than the traditionally over decorated jeepneys. Thus they are much faster and more spacious. The idea and manufacturing of XLT was patented in BIDA, according to some sources. But it was actually the Ford Motors that launched the first model of XLT, the Ford Fierro. To avoid problems of piracy and to protect intellectual property rights, the assemblers of this vehicle types changed their unit name from XLT to APV (All Purpose Vehicle,). This APV acronym was also adapted by Suzuki in one of its latest minivan model. The pioneers of the industry include Orsito "Sitong" Yco (Hayco?), Ernesto Ahento, Mando Basilio & Biling Pineda. The business started in the late 1970's and the early 1980's; but it was in the 1990's that the APV industry in Brgy. Balangcas, Sto. Tomas Pampanga blossomed.

The APV Assembly

The basic tools in a machine shop to assemble the APV are the press drill, French grinder, bench clamp, welding machine (acetylene oxygen), compressors, bar/G.I./ stainless cutters, tube and manual benders to start the major assembly. The raw materials in the construction of the vehicles body include B.I KC20 (example of motor engine),

G.I sheets, stainless sheets, all examples of locally available metal sheets. The rest of the parts are bought, like the surplus chassis and engine, batteries, tires etc. After the major assembly, painting and surface finishing come next, using brand names like Galvacat Epoxy, Polytop Filler, and other finishing chemicals. The attachments of finishing accessories and its windshield are done simultaneously with the electrical connections and uphol-

stery. Most of the finished units are now ready for road testing complete with other mechanical testing and registration assistance. The ingenuity and creativity of these people are reflected in of their craft and specialization. From the oldest vehicle type to the most recent model of cars and pickups come the perfect copy of the balangcas jip.

Competitive edge:

- With regards to design (front), it can be made through special request depending on the model (customized). As they frequently suggest to potential customers and APV buyers, "nung nanung modelung kotsi, van o saken ing buri yu, gauan miang makanita ing arap na". The type of XLT front design is mostly dependent on the available supply of disposed parts of accident-wrecked cars and vans and not from the much widespread Korean imported secondhand cars and vans in the Philippines.

- Less accessorized than the multicolored vista of Sarao or sarao-like jeepneys

- Multipurpose: pamasada, pambiahi, pamorma, pampamilia

- Relatively low prices which range from 290,000-330,000 pesos; around P 290,000 (for ordinary, ualuan or 8 seater)

- P 330,000 (with power window, dosían or 12 seater)

- additional P30,000 for the Air-condition Lateru vs. dollars

The town of Sto. Tomas was once known as Baliuag, while the home barangay of this modern industry stands for the etymological importance of the place, as balangkas. In Kapampangan, the term balangkas refers to the framework or design of construction like putting up the framework of a house. In fact, most of the people of Brgy.

Balangcas are either farmers or lateru (metalsmith). Today this relatively new tradition is about to vanish because of the rapid increase of the cost of petroleum products which fuel this invention. Recent statistics shows that most men in this barangay are fast becoming OFWs giving up their more important skills. In fact even their APV co-operative organization has been closed down due to unpaid debts. Presently, their town is trying to recover the lost glory of their business. In the years 1992-1998 (during the FVR presidency) they experience a resurgence of the business until it slumped again in recent years. What affected the industry was the government's decision to allow imported surplus vehicles like Hyundai, Kia, Delica and Besta which directly rivaled the local market. Barring the exportation of this APV by the government also added to the deterioration of the industry. According to Mr. Raymundo Tongol, owner of "Raymundo Autoshop Gen. Merchandise", assembler and maker of APV, there used to be 60 shops before. But today, only about 30 shops are still making and assembling APV. (By Joel Pabustan Mallari with Donnie Ray Sinamban, Leonardo Orongan, Liezel Naluz, Abigail Soriano, Arwin Soliman, Shigi, Lady, J hem, Glyz, Deo, Arlene Samia, Angela Mangente).

APALIT-STO. TOMAS: A PERFECT MATCH

Neighboring towns Apalit and Sto. Tomas are truly neighborly to each other, sharing resources but never invading each other's space. If Capalangan produces the traditional paddle-and-anvil made pots, old barrio Sapa (now Sto. Niño) has decorative and modern plant pots and jars. Apalit's San Vicente and Sampaloc produce fine pukpuk wares (brass made articles) and kapalangan (metal blades like pisu, kampit, sudsud, lape etc...), while Sto. Tomas' San Vicente and San Matias manufacture karo and kabaung. A strong connection of suppliers and assemblers can also be seen in these neighboring towns. If Balangcas produces all the modern day models of XLT (or APV) in the Philippines using spare parts coming from wrecked vehicles and the combined expertise of pukpuk method, Capalangan is probably the most famous place in the Philippines that supplies original spare parts of model cars and vans of all high end brands. A joke goes around in Capalangan that residents yell at motorists warning them not to leave their new vehicles unattended. Stolen parts are often seen displayed in "chop-chop" shops along the village. (J PM)

DÁSÊ

AS A PRODUCT OF CONVI VI ALITY

OLD FOLKS IN SAN LUIS AND
SAN SIMON STILL WEAVE
SLEEPING MATS

By Joel Pabustan Mallari
with Sheila Laxamana

In the warm and humid tropics, various cultures have devised ways and means to make living more bearable, if not comfortable. The Philippines is no exemption and nowhere is this solution as obvious as in the Filipino use of a variety of materials for making sleeping mats.

Various species of reeds profusely grow

in swampy areas, as

well as a number of palm species, and rattan.

These materials remain cool in the heat of the day, are smooth to touch, and porous enough to let ventilation through. Throughout the country one encounters a variety of mat making traditions using indigenously grown materials and embellishing these creations with highly imaginative designs. From the Badjao/Samals, Tausugs, Maranaos, Tbolis of Highland Mindanao, Tagbanuas, and the various people of Samar, Romblon, and the of Cordillera all have their unique versions of native mats and woven articles like hats. The commonness of sleeping mats throughout the country attest to the artistry and the superb skills required to accomplish the intricacy evident in this woven works of art.

In a 1940 ethnographic report done by Ricardo E. Galang, kupiang ebus or native hats made from the leaves of ebus (*Corypha utan* Lam. Arecaceae) are reportedly produced in the towns of Arayat, San Luis, San Simon and Apalit. Folk traditions maintain that the magkukupia (hat makers) from Sucad, Apalit, once supplied the local markets not only of Pampanga but also those of Tarlac, Manila, Baguio, Bataan and Zambales. Dr. Ricardo Galang notes that these towns also produced petates (palm mats, Kapampangan dase) and bayones (bayung) In Sto. Domingo, Minalin, turung or kupia making is seasonally done until this time



Fray Diego Bergaño in his 18th century Vocabulario dela Lengua Pampango en Romance, notes that the towns situated at the Candaba Swamp are known for the weaving of ebus mats, as dase. Recent ethnographic survey shows that there are a few families from San Luis and San Simon who are still engaged in the dying industry of dase-making. The old magdadase (dase weavers) of San Luis still recall the old days of this industry and with teary eyes narrate the tiring but colorful days when almost all town folks of all ages knew this art of weaving. This fine craftsmanship of the Kapampangans has always been associated with the panaun ning kasakitan, days of hard times (like during the time of war). As they say, this period was then the time when most of the ordinary folks living around the area of the Candaba Swamp burned their midnight oils and after the day's toil still found time to weave a piece of dase. It is in fact the culture of "maglame" that bears a deeper meaning to their lives as magdadase. Pressing need to bring in extra earnings for their insufficient income and the high demand of the local and neighboring market, they tend to find effective ways to work fast and be creative. Thus the gathering of several magdadase in one's sulip (house ground floor) aiming to finish their individual weaving assignments. During this time, the burden of working overnight is replenished with the of accompaniment of singing and guitar playing, bugtung-bugtungan and other forms of dalitan of volunteers. And this affair does not only end with this oral amusement but also plays hot with kapangan and gigutan to keep up till the pamanulauk ning manuk. As they say "mipapaglame bang dakal alalang dase, atin kanta-kanta, pamangan at dungut-

ANCIENT MAT

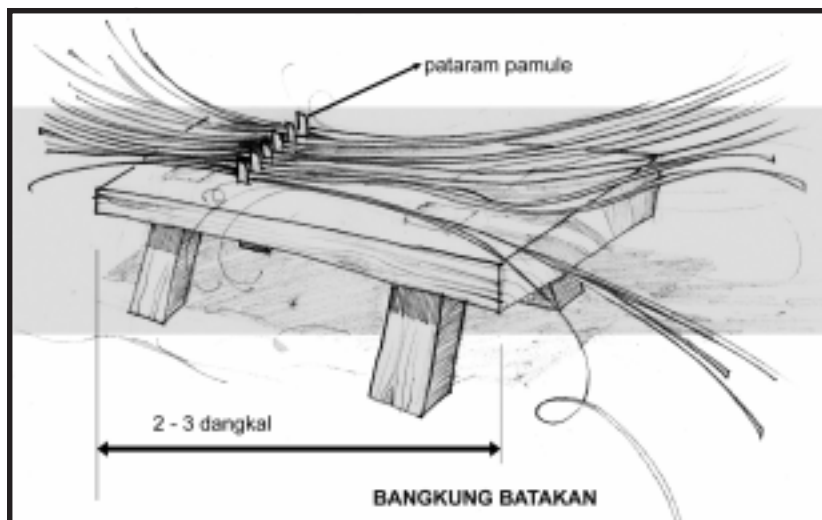
In Pampanga, the oldest evidence of mat use dates back to the 13th-14th centuries as seen in the mat impressions found among several metal implements associated with early burial practices.



Weaving patterns on mats

dungut king pamaglutu bang dakal agauang dase". In fact there is an old bugtung (riddle) about the once common use of this article, as follows: "Mig quera cu babo ebus, lalam sasa cu me tudtud." Literally, "The sleeping mat is laid down upon the floor (of buri); the roof is of nipa". In the old days, ordinary pinaud (native house with nipa thatching) usually had simple articles inside it, and dase was surely one of them. While another popular joke rendered as a song was recalled among the old magdadase: "Lame-lame alang magkera king dase". In fact, according to them, lame-lame actually refers to "dakal a gagauang dase kambe ning metung a paritan at dula king radiu".

Dase weaving starts with the fine selection of ebus leaves. This comes from the specie of *Corypha utan* (syn. *C. elata* Roxb, *C. gebang*), which is widely known in Southeast Asia. This palm tree known as ibus in Bikol, buri and buli among various Tagalog speakers was once a useful tree not only for its leaves, but also for the cluster of small fruits of about an inch in diameter which were once sold as street food offered to school children. Its flower sap was also made into tuba, and in Mindanao, they boil the sap of ebus just to make sugar called bagkat in Kapampangan and Tagalog. Until the 1970s, ebus palms were still abundant in Central Luzon especially in and around the Candaba Swamp up to the northwest portion of Mt. Arayat. Indeed, the people from Ilug Maisac (in Tarlac) and Mago (spelled as Magao, a village located between Concepcion and Nueva Ecija) supplied the magdadase of San Luis and magkukupia of Apalit until the early 80s and these were delivered by bancas via the Pampanga River. As it was recounted by the



The weaving of dase (ebus mats) among the people of Central Luzon is done by the entire family, often while keeping watch over the "lamay" or killing time in the "sulip." (Photo from H.W. Krieger, Washington, 1942)

magdadase, every delivery of tulud ebus (young ebus leaves, tiluran refers to every single leaf) usually comes sagia (fresh green). From this, they have to be sundried or mebilad at melanat, before the process of individual tistisan and lapakan which is the removing of tingting (midrib). The rolling of the fibers comes next by making loops/circles termed as eikid (or aikid), and eikiran (or aikiran) for the process, while the processed loops is then called balangkat. Every balangkat will be stripped (locally called as gisian) using a batakan;

the process is then called bulayan, and binule for every ebus strip. The process involves the pulling of meikid.

The batakan (in some places it is called panabas) is made from an ordinary wooden bench (similar to the pangudkud ngungut), except that it has specially made pataram (small metalblades usually in a set of 6 pieces). This special bench is so small, that it is a bangkung kikilikan for it is very light and transportable; whenever there is work to be done they easily carry it to the place of the maglame.

Weaving is commonly called lalala, while the binule that is already part of the weaving process is called sundu, and so pamisundusundu refers to the intricacy of the process being done. The biggest dase which is the usual size available then is the so-called ualuan or ualuan talampakan (around 8-9 ft by 12 ft), and smallest is apat-akaran (about 2-3 ft long), while other standard sizes include the didosi (12 talampakan) and didiés (10 talampakan). Every size of dase is determined by the available length of mebule which also indicates the age, growth and seasonal characteristics of the ebus palm supplied. Thus, dase making is better during the kaleldo or summer time. Among the favorite designs except for the plain non-dyed pieces which are in demand are the teladama design and the siper (zipper) type. The teladama design has a

checkered board design while the siper has minimal dotted lines with special double-weave finish on all margins which projects durability. Among the colors most requested by dase buyers is malutu (red dyed), dilo and berdi (dyed yellow and green respectively). The violet or red-violet and blue are rarely requested. The dyeing materials include the commercial food coloring mixtures which they call alelina or alelinang butil-butit. The process of coloring takes place immediately among selected ebus before weaving.

PAMPANGA'S LOST ART OF WEAVING CLOTH

WORD ENTRIES FROM BERGAÑO'S 1732 DICTIONARY SUGGEST A THRIVING COTTON CULTURE IN THE KAPAMPANGAN REGION

By Joel Pabustan Mallari

In an archaeological survey in Candaba sometime in 2002, several artifacts were recovered, evidencing an ancient rich culture which includes weaving. This is supported by the presence of earthen spindle whorls associated to the so-called "Metal Age" (500 BC AD 500) of the Philippines. In an ordinance issued in Manila during the time of Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas dated 9th of April 1591, the so-called Indians (referring to the native inhabitants of the Philippines) were forbidden from wearing Chinese stuff, include silk. William Henry Scott writes that all Kapampangan at this time already wore cotton - "chiefs, timaguas and slaves without distinction of rank." He further comments that "though it was not grown locally; it was acquired raw from provinces from the south in exchange for rice and gold." Indeed these Kapampangans were not only rich with these resources but also wove cotton fabric, John Larkin notes in his book "The Pampangans". This old tradition of cotton weaving was also recorded by Fray Diego Bergano in 1732 with the following entries:

BULAC, a bush and the fruit it bears, are both called bulac, cotton. But with the distinction, there is a bigger tree, and its produce can be used only for mattresses and cushions and it is called bulac castila (kapok?) So it is customary to add to the



Damian Domingo painting of typical Kapampangan attire, most likely made of cotton died in indigo

produce of the bush, bulac susuldan or pagpaguin. Other forms: Manimulac, the cloth made of cotton becomes threadbare for being worn out; maguinbulac, becomes very very white...;

CABID, a certain measure of cotton for

spinning: four threads makes a cauing, four caulings make a cabid; ten cabids make one tul, which is one skein;

LAMBAL, the thread for sewing silk, or cotton. Active verb and its constructions, to make or cut a length of thread from the spool. P. 3. the spool, or skein. Calambalan, one length of thread for the needle. Pa, palambal, to provide a needle with a length of thread. P. 1. the thread. P. 3. that which is to be sewn with such a thread, like a baro, dress;

LULUN, to roll up, like the reed-mat / palm-mat beddings. P. 1. that which is rolled up, Lilun. Maca, presently rolled up...Lulunán, nominative, said in a wider sense, of the freshness, or tenderness of the labong, the stick around which they roll up / twine the raw cotton;

PUYUD, a bundle of cotton on the distaff, ready for weaving, or spinning;

SALAB, to bring near to the flames, to dry, or to singe, or scorch, like pork; or to give a bent shape to a piece of bamboo; or to apply the flame to a bundle of flax or hemp/cotton...;

SULAD, the fashion, the finish, the spun; to spin; the spun, or on behalf of whom. Sildan, or, silaran, or, sinulad, (that is what they call the cotton that is spun into thread...;

TUBAL, to soak the raw cotton before dyeing;

TUL, ten cabigs equal one Tul, a measure of raw cotton bales. If you want more, inquire from a woman spinner, spinster;

These entries indicate a complex industry which is not limited to household consumption but for a wider market. Blue-dyed cotton was seen common to Kapampangans as explained in the entry "sapat", which Fr. Bergano wrote to "mean steeping, or soaking raw cotton to dye it blue / in blue dye". This color might have been a native favorite as what was documented in Jean Mallat's work which was one of the rarest of all 19th century French publications containing Philippine illustrated material. He further noted that "in Pampanga they make cloths of all kinds, pots of baked clay which are taken to Manila and in the environs of the bay..."

THE DEVIL WEARS PATIS

Kapampangans' excellence in fashion designing was propounded by fashion schools that mushroomed all over Pampanga before World War II, notably the Salgado School of Fashion and the Angeles Fashion School as well as by individuals whose genius has catapulted them to the fashion world's stratosphere: R.T. Paras, Josefina Gonzales, Florencia Salgado Paloma, Gang Hizon Gomez (a.k.a. Dom Martin de Jesus, OSB), Patis Pamintuan Tesoro and Marta Teoleco, whose baptismal gowns, First Communion dresses, embroidered undergarments and handkerchiefs were prized for their fine craftsmanship.





MÁNAYI: *Sastrerías y Modistas tan buen en Pampanga*

TAILORS AND DRESSMAKERS ONCE MADE A KILLING IN A PROVINCE WHERE LOOKS AND PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OUTWEIGHED EVERYTHING ELSE

By Lord Francis Musni

Very few of us today appreciate the labor and creativity that goes with producing every part of one's apparel. In this age of off-the-shelf clothes, consumers are treated with a variety of styles and cuts. More brands are coming in from abroad, including designer labels. To be chic these days is to sport urban fashion that is instant, generic and commonly available in the modern agoras we call malls. There is little personal touch as what sells is the impression made by billboards and multi-million campaign ads strewn around town.

But the metropolis still abounds with tailor shops and modiste parlors, which are most likely owned, operated, or at least served by the Capampangan manahi. For years, the manahi's reputation has followed him everywhere. From the old talleres in Avenida Rizal and Escolta to high-end tai-

lor and fashion shops in Makati and Mandaluyong, the Capampangan sewer is known for his craft. One should not be oblivious also of the throngs of Capampangan manahis most sought after in export zones, industrial parks and export processing firms involved in the garment business. Many manahis helped propel the economy in the last few decades by carving a special niche in the Philippine industry. The Philippine garment business became a booming enterprise especially indulged into by Capampangans, either as managers, designers or frontline workers. The obstinate tailoring and modista shops just refuse to die. While most of the tailors and modistes have closed shop, a small few have managed to stay in business relying mostly on school, office and military uniforms. The most recent threat is the

proliferation of couture fashion defined and basically dominated by members of the gay community.

It must have been the Capampangan's penchant for fine lifestyle, which readily manifests itself in the richness of its food and the luxury of his wardrobe. His fine taste for clothing and accessories (and his tendency to exaggerate, *mamaratut*) may have in the process buttressed common notions of his character such as being *magarbu* (lavish) and *mayabang* (boastful). If one were to write a quizzer on how to easily spot a Capampangan in a motley crowd, there is surely no sweat in identifying a Capampangan. The Capampangan male goes about in his crisply ironed shirt (at times even *almirulado*, heavily starched) of fine fabric and accessories. The female on the other hand would go

MÁNAYI J ARGON

1. Sucad - size; fit, it may refer to actual body measurements, or standard measurements or ready-to-wear apparel. Thus, masanting a sucad, means good or snug fit.
2. "alawans" - (ease) is the added inches put into a pattern so the figure has comfort and the garment has style.
3. Manauang- "looks silly"; ill-fitting
4. Masicup - tight-fitting
5. Malualas - too loose fitting
6. Bitin - hanging; lacking in length or drop
7. Venta - commonly known as "RTW" or ready-to-wear apparel; cut and sewn according to garment industry standards and "ready-to-wear." RTW is usually resorted to when there is very little time to have a piece of apparel custom-made;
8. Sudia - an adjsuted cut on the extreme lower crotch
9. Lagad - the frequency of the run of stitches
10. Malinlin- fibers gone loose
11. Piquete - trim/cut of a corner or joint for easy folding
12. Caltas - literally to deduct; to cut-off slightly to allow easy handling
13. Bulsang Busbusan -a type of pocket assemblage consisting of a cut along the back panel
14. Bulsang Cambal Tubig - similar to Busbusan but made with two cuts and fold on the rim
15. Types of Pakat Bulsa a) mete miñuluc; b) round; box; e)Norfolk
16. Pantalun Simple/disente - linen or any pants made with soft-fabric

for an eye-catching dress, one which would surely reap attention more easily, and become an instant conversation piece for kibitzers, dying to be like her. Both sexes boost their ego after being reassured by stares and whispers as they pass by.

Manahi (root word "tahi" to sew) means one who sews; It is a generic term for both males and females engaged in the preparation and sewing of sewing clothes to earn their keep. To be more particular however, the male manahi, is a sastre, and the lady sewer is called a modista or costurera (couturier). The manahi enjoys wide renown for the fine quality of his work and his jovial mood which makes his shop a haven for customers, as he knows how to entertain and please them.

The different steps in the work of the manahi:

1. PAMANGUANG SUCAD

Pamanguang sucad, literally means "to take one's measurement" Measurements are carefully taken with the aid of a medida (tape measure, originally made of cloth, but recently crude plastic with inches one side and centimeters on the other. A medida is only 60 inches long.) The maniucad (one who takes the measurements) places the tape on the vital portions, which need to be measured. When measuring pants, the maniucad takes the measurements and writes them down on a notebook or a sheet of paper, or if he is de calibre , he has an assistant who takes them down for him. For pants, vital measurements include: length (caba), waistline (hawakan/tinauac), hips (papaluan), knee (intud), bottom (laylayan), riser (pundilla), and round measurement (cabilugan.) Of all these, the taking of the measurement of the pundilla and cabilugan is most vital. The pundilla and cabilugan are measured depending on the orientation of a client's waistline, low waist clients have shorter pundilla (mababa tiru) and high-waist clients have longer pundilla (matas tiru).

The measurement should be carefully taken. The crotch part or tiru, is the distance from the lower tip of the crotch and the tip of the waistline. A pair of pants with macuiad a tiru, would cause the pants to become low-waisted, on the contrary macaba tiru means pants which literally sink the lower torso, thus rendering the waistline at a point higher than it should be. In both instances, a pair of pants would have matsura talacad (ill-fitting pants). A pantalong matsura talacad is not only un-aesthetic but also unhealthy as it may affect one's posture. A fastidious maniucad will go further by asking the male customer where his cargada is. The cargada (Spanish false cognate in local usage refers to baggage) is the orientation of the male reproductive organ, i.e'; as to which position it lies or rests, left or right. Rizal is said to have had a left cargada.

Allowance and adjustments are made to suit the customer's

preferences. A meticulous maniucad who may not be necessarily be the cutter, occasionally asks his customer how he feels about the adjustment, whether it is too tight or too loose. He never readily assumes which measure should fit well because the customer is in a better position to know which is snug. But he is all more careful when the customer insists on a rather unusual adjustment as to render the entire measurement inconsistent. The maniucad convinces the customer to give off a little to fit all the other measures together. An experienced maniucad and manahi knows how to make the adjustments (daya) to make a piece of apparel more attractive.

While waiting for his turn to have his or her measurements taken, a client is offered a box of catalogues from which he can choose the latest styles. Sometimes, some clients come to the shop with the latest magazine in tow, with instructions to the tailor or modiste to copy Jacqueline Kennedy's latest skirt cut, Audrey Hepburn's collar line in Breakfast at Tiffany's or Fernando Poe Jr.'s low -waist cut denims, or the latest hippie umbell cut jeans.

2. PAMAMADRUN

The carefully taken measurements are next plotted on a padrun. With the aid of pattern-making tools (pamadrun). Pamamadrun is the master cutter's turf. Pamadrun is a critical step anterior to the cutting of the fabric. The measurements taken form the client are meticulously plotted on the pamadrun (brown paper which is a cross between manila paper and wax paper, or box board material which is a bit thicker). The cutter has through years of experience mastered the art of sketching



DRESSMAKER'S TOOLS

1. Gunting - scissors and/or shears
2. Panastas- a handy wire rod with a hook on one end; a special picking tool which is used to remove seams or undo bad stitches seam ripper to remove stitches one at a time, and to pick out loose threads caught in stitching.
2. Pananda - marking tool; an awl, a pencil, or chalk
3. Giritil- a special disk, akin to a cookie cutter, to make guide impressions on fabric
4. Sinulad - thread, which usually comes in a variety of colors and thickness (ticket number); the thicker the fabric, the bigger the ticket.
5. Aspiling Carayum - setting pins
6. Pamatan- paper weights, used to keep the fabric in place while tracing and cutting the outline
7. Carayum Gamat/ Maquina - needle
8. Didal - thimble; used to push the needle without getting one's fingers. Made of metal, rubber, leather or plastic, this small, protective cover slips over the index or middle finger. When hand sewing or quilting, a thimble protects the fingertip from pin pricks and is used to push the needle through multiple layers of fabric.



the lines and contours of the pattern with the aid of a ruler (the Capampangan most often mispronounce it as "luler"), an escuala (a square ruler), and a curva (a French curve). The cutter follows a prescribed and accepted standard of distances between

lines, margins to arrive at proper contours, but he has to make the necessary adjustments to suit the measurements and preferences of his client (daya-literally to deceive the eye). A good cutter through years develops a sense of good taste without having to bow to all of his client's preferences. The pattern is cut from the pamadrin and later traced over the fabric.

3. PAMANABAS

The pattern is carefully set and fixed over the fabric, for several orders, the fabrics carefully set over each other (chapa), and secured with pamatan (heavy objects which will keep the fabrics in place). With the aid of a Dixon (popular brand of a tailor's chalk, which usually comes in white, orange or yellow) the padrun is carefully traced over the fabrics. The fabric is later cut to the desired contours of the pattern, with a gunting panabas (cutting shears) : four panels, 2 front (tabas arap) and 2 back (tabas gulut). The rest of the parts or accessories of the apparel are also cut: sulapa (double fly), aleta (single fly) madrina



(pocket cover), cacha (lining) balsa relo (watch pocket) cinturera (belt loop), platina (waistband), zipper or buttons. It is important that all the accessories are prepared and set aside especially when the fabric to be used is pre-cut to standard sizes. It is easier to make adjustments

(remedio) when there are still plenty of scraps, and when indeed the tailor runs short of the fabric material, he resorts to seaming together scraps (sudia). Sudia, as Bergaño however, suggests is "the pointed end of the ancient tunic worn by men."

4. PAMANAH

The actual sewing process involves a series of steps:

a) Pamanareglu - The preparation of pre-cut portions, panels parts, and accessories, such as zippers, buttons, thread, snaps, and even labels. Pamanareglu may also include running the pieces of cut fabric on a zigzag machine to seal the fibers of the fabric so as to avoid the fibers from running loose. (malinlin)

b) Pamamuo - All the cut parts are assembled together beginning with the pockets, attaching the zipper.

c) Pamanyara properly refers to closing together all the seams to complete the apparel.

5. "PITING" AND PAMIAYUS

When the clothes are almost ready, ie.,

when the selvages are closed, the customer is informed of the fitting session. Each fold and seam are carefully tucked, laid together with the aid of tailor pins. The manahi carefully marks the points where adjustments need to be made. Lines and points of adjustment need to be made. Again the Dixon, plays a crucial part.

6. PAMANARI

Pamanari as the term suggests (yari-"to finish") refer to the finishing touches. The seams (laylayan) are neatly closed. Button holes (ojales) are sewn and buttons, clasps, snaps are pressed. A finish is never complete without the pamamata or perma press work. The piece of clothing is pressed heavily with a perma-press machine to leave--as the term suggests-permanent creases, folds, and lines on the apparel. The permanent creases are designed to prominently show and make the apparel stand out. Maong and cotton pants are never perma-pressed.

The following are curious commercial placements in the 1933 Pampango Directory:

One reads: "Cunanan's Tailoring Created To Give You FINE STYLES at the LEAST PRICE." The tailor shop has this address: "only a few steps from the market to the station."

Noted dressmaker R.T. Paras who owns the household name "R.T. Paras" is a modista with address at 859 Rizal Avenue, Manila.

"Sastreria de Julian Yusi" is another famous tailor shop in Masantol.

A certain "G.T. Santos Modern Tailoring" found at 2318 Rizal Avenue, Manila boasts of "clothing perfection. All latest styles from Europe and America."



ZARZUELA: The Kapampangan Broadway musical

WITH LITERALLY HUNDREDS OF ZARZUELAS BEING PRODUCED LEFT AND RIGHT IN THE EARLY 1900S, PAMPANGA APPROXIMATED ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND IN TERMS OF VOLUME AND QUALITY OF LITERARY OUTPUT

A prompter in action during one of the pre-war zarzuelas in Pampanga (Source: Sunday Times Magazine)

By Robby Tantingco

Zarzuela is an imported art form from Spain. The first zarzuela staged in the Philippines was *Jugar con Guego*, brought here by a visiting Spanish theatre group in 1878. Two years later, in 1880, the first zarzuela troupe composed of Filipino actors and actresses was organized by Spaniards in Manila; it still performed Spanish zarzuelas. The same year, Jose Rizal, then a student and president of Ateneo de Manila's Academia de Literatura Castellana, wrote an original zarzuela, *Junto al Pasig*; still, it was in the Spanish language. In 1893, *El Diablo Mundo* the first zarzuela to use music composed by a native, Jose Estrella, was staged at the Zorrilla Theatre in Manila; again, it was in Spanish.

It was a dramatist from Bacolor, Mariano Proceso Pabalan Byron, who blazed the trail by writing the country's first zarzuela using a native language,

Kapampangan. Ing Managpe was a breakthrough not only because it discarded the use of a foreign language, but also because it featured a simple love story in a domestic setting. Most plays and musicals at the time were mere excuses for nationalistic and revolutionary propaganda. The zarzuela also featured original music by a Bacolor native, Amado Gutierrez David, brother of Supreme Court Justice Jose Gutierrez David. Ing Managpe was first staged at the Jovens' Teatro Sabina on September 13, 1900.

The success of Ing Managpe inspired Pabalan Byron and other dramatists and poets to write more original Kapampangan zarzuelas for the entertainment of their kabalen. They became so prolific that their time came to be known as the Golden Age of Kapampangan Literature and Bacolor as the Athens of Pampanga. Theatre compa-

WHY ZARZUELA IS VANISHING

- disappearance of zarzuela librettos and music scores, due to lahar, war and negligence
- difficulty of understanding and pronouncing Kapampangan words
- boring subject matter, trite plot
- preference of modern audiences for beauty pageants and amateur singing contests during town fiestas

nies mushroomed all over the province, e.g. Compania Sabina and Compania Dramatica of Bacolor, Compania Trining of Guagua, Compania Ocampo and Compania Paz of Candaba, Compania Reyes of San Fernando, Compania Lubeña of Lubao, Compania Trinidad of Macabebe, etc.

The decline of the zarzuela can be at-



Isaac C. Gomez' *Horas ning Mamulang* (The Fool's Hour) performed by Compania Ocampo, a traveling zarzuela troupe from Candaba in the 1940s and 50s. Right, stage actress Eufrocinia de la Peña in a "mad scene." De la Peña is still alive today, writing Kapampangan poetry (Source: Sunday Times Magazine)



tributed to the following developments: (a) the introduction of Hollywood motion pictures in 1912, followed by the production of Tagalog movies (produced in Manila and sometimes in the provinces); thus, stage theatres were replaced by, or converted into, movie houses; (b) politicians' sponsorship of free vaudevilles and amateur singing contests held in poblacions; at some point zarzuela tickets were being sold on credit just to attract viewers, but even those remained unpaid; (c) World War II and the social unrest that followed, which ne-

cessitated curfews; (d) the exodus of Kapampangan zarzuelistas to Manila where they switched to Tagalog radio dramas; (e) the takeover of the zarzuela by proletarian writers, who wrote for the money, not for art (as in the early days when schooled artists collaborated with wealthy patrons to produce grand productions).

True, there were resurgences before and after the war, thanks to the efforts of charismatic zarzuelistas like Diosdado Macapagal and Rogelio de la Rosa of Lubao and Jose Gallardo of Candaba, but, as Edna

Zapanta Manlapaz wrote in her book *Kapampangan Literature*, the output has largely been mediocre. In 1975, *Alang Dios!* was staged at the Cultural center of the Philippines (CCP), followed by several other Kapampangan plays in the same venue the following year. Today, only schools and universities make an effort to revive the Kapampangan zarzuela, the latest of which was the Holy Angel University production of *Ing Managpe* in 2006.

ZARZUELA MEMORIES

A ZARZUELISTA FROM BACOLOR WHO LATER BECAME A JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT RECALLS THE GOLDEN AGE OF KAPAMPANGAN LITERATURE



Justice Jose Gutierrez David; right photo shows a young Jose with friend Zoilo Hilario (with sword) when they both performed in a zarzuela in Bacolor



"I n 1909, when the Teatro Sabina was r e c o n - structured, remodeled and inaugu - rated anew, a permanent commemorative and decorative board was p l a c e d above the

all above 40 years of age, appeared mine. I was then 18 years old. The youngest among them. The music composers' names which appeared there were Pablo Palma, Jose Prado and Amado Gutierrez, my brother. We deemed this event as a great honor to the eldest and youngest brothers (Amado and I) and to the family as a whole."

"Amado also composed ballads, danzas and kundimans. One of his compositions, which became very famous, was *Danza Belang*, which he dedicated to a beautiful girl in the town of Sto. Tomas, Pampanga, named Gabriela Guiao. He also supplied its lyrics in Pampango.... This kundiman is being sung until now on the radio and on television programs. Its title has been changed to *Palsimi* and the lyrics into Tagalog, by someone who appropriated it without the consent or knowledge of its composer."

"The rehearsals of the zarzuelas were held in our house.... So, our house was considered as the birthplace of the Pampango zarzuelas. The gala performance was rendered in the downtown theatre called Teatro Sabina, whose owner was a spinster, Da Sabina (da is abbreviated dara, aunt—ed.), sister of Ceferino Joven. Hundreds of zarzuelas were produced afterward. Many became hits and very popular like *Alang Dios*, *Ing Sultana*, *Mascota*, *Sigalut*, etc. The era of zarzuela showing flourished for almost three decades. It was supported by the Joven family. It ended when the said family was no more in a condition to continue supporting it due to financial difficulties."

DID YOU KNOW?

- Pampanga was one of first provinces to have theatre companies with resident playwrights, directors and actors

- The rival theatre companies in Pampanga at the start of the 1900s were Teatro Sabina of Bacolor, run by Juan Crisostomo Soto, Felix Galura and Mariano Proceso Pabalan Byron, and Teatro Trining of Guagua, run by Aurelio and Jacinto Tolentino; between the two companies, it was Teatro Sabina that was better funded because it was owned by Ceferino Joven, then Governor of Pampanga at the time when Bacolor was still the capital of the province

- Zarzuela actors were paid between P4 and P15 per show; the playwright, P100 per season (plus royalties); costumes were provided by the actors themselves and they performed gratis during town fiestas;

- Entrance fees:
P2 for palco proscenio
60 ctvs-P1 for orchestra seats
20 ctvs for entrada general
Rates were usually lower for repeat performances

- Zarzuelas were usually written and rehearsed during the rainy months of June-October, and performed during the dry months of November-May, with interruption in March-April to give way to the Lenten cenaculo

- When the zarzuela became popular, many dramatists produced instant zarzuelas by simply injecting musical numbers in their plays

- During their heyday in the American colonial years, zarzuela companies toured towns in Pampanga, Tarlac and even Manila

1930S MOVIE OUTFIT IN PAMPANGA

With the advent of motion picture, Kapampangans jumped on the bandwagon. In Angeles, a group of businessmen attempted to put up a movie production outfit called Novelty Films in 1934. Its incorporators were: Alfonso de Leon, Placido de Guzman, Jose Sanchez, Rafael Lazatin, Andres Guevarra, Jose Ganzon and Joaquin de Guzman. The venture did not prosper.

Some Notable Kapampangan Zarzuelas and Zarzuelistas



(Clockwise from above) Juan Crisostomo Soto of Bacolor (standing) with Isidro Joven; Aurelio Tolentino of Guagua and Monico Mercado of Sasmuan.



Alang Dios!
Paninap Nang Don Roque
Apat Ya Ing Junio
Ing Magparigaldigal
Ing Cabiguan
Ing Mora
Ing Singing a Bacal
Gatbiala
Ing Mangaibugan
Damayan
Iraya o Sultan ning Tondo
La Independencia
Datu Mandil
Sintang Dalise
Reyna ning Malasya
Ing Mapanaco
Sampagang Asahar
Dayang Azul
Capirasong Ulas
Bayung Jerusalem
Crucifijong Pilak
Maligayang Infierno
Panulung Lasun
Tagumpe ning Calulu
Singsing ning Catutuan

Juan Crisostomo Soto
Juan Crisostomo Soto
Mariano Proceso Pabalan Byron
Mariano Proceso Pabalan Byron
Felix Galura
Felix Galura
Juan Crisostomo Soto and Felix Galura
Felino Simpao
Jacinto Tolentino
Aurelio Tolentino
Monico Mercado
Jose Gutierrez David
Edilberto Joven
Zoilo Hilario
Zoilo Hilario
Sergio Navarro
Isaac Gomez
Roman Reyes
Restituto Guinto
Urbano Macapagal
Jose Gallardo
Victor Lumanug
Vedasto Ocampo
Prudencio Tulio
Ariston Lacsina



In 1915, a Kapampangan zarzuela based on Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* was staged in Mabalacat, on a makeshift platform near the San Felipe bridge. Alex Castro, author of *Scenes from a Bordertown and Other Views*, thinks that the script was probably based on Kapampangan translation of Rizal's novel done by Juan Elias de Guzman of Mabalacat, shortly after the hero's execution. It was directed by J.I. Mendoza with Gerardo Castro as Crisostomo Ibarra. (Photo by Daniel Henson Dizon)



The zarzuela's decline gave way to other forms of stage presentations, like the 1951 production of a Kapampangan passion play entitled *Pasion y Muerte*, produced by Mabalacat resident Gonzalo Tangingco and directed by Sebastian de la Cruz. Its cast and crew were all from the town of Mabalacat. (Photo by Dr. Inez Cuyugan Quizon-David)

KURIRU

ONCE UPON A TIME, KAPAMPANGAN VERSE NOVELS SOLD LIKE HARRY POTTER BOOKS

Amazing but true: once upon a time, Kapampangans read verse novels the way we today read Harry Potter novels. Usually after Mass, they trooped to newsstands, where these books were sold (the way illustrated comics and magazines are sold today), bought and took them home. The verse novels were called kuriru, a corruption of the Spanish corrido and the Tagalog korido, but unlike them, the kuriru was not sung or danced, although earlier generations of kuriru readers may have chanted them like the pasyon. In fact, the kuriru were mostly translations of medieval Spanish metrical romances, which had magic and adventure and other elements that guaranteed readership. Readership was so high before and after World War II that printing presses in Pampanga and Manila were churning out kuriru by tens of thousands. Kapampangans were so addicted to these fantastical tales that an alarmed Felix Galura published Ing Cabiguan, a long narrative poem that satirized the absurd plots of the kuriru and the kumedyá. Ing Cabiguan used the same 12-syllable quatrain of the verse forms he was criticizing but replaced the fantastic plot with a realistic one.



Metrical romances later gave way to verse novel such as Roman Leoncio's translation of Huseng Batute's Gloria

KURIRU NOTES

- cheap editions of kuriru were priced as low as 25 centavos per copy
- they became so popular that they were sold alongside novena booklets and other devotional materials during town fiestas
- Manila-based printing presses

that published Kapampangan kuriru include Imprenta de Quiapo, Imprenta Libreria y Papeleria de Juan Martinez; Esteban Tipografico Compania; Modesto Lanuza Imprinter

- The leading printing press in Pampanga that published kuriru was the press of Cornelio Pabalan Byron in Bacolor

FREE VERSE AND LYRIC POETRY

YOUNG POETS PREFER FREE VERSE, WHILE OLD POETS STICK TO THE 16-SYLLABLE, 6-STANZA GALLARDO-STYLE LYRIC POETRY

Kapampangans used to recite poetry at the drop of a hat. The language is musical and lends itself well to poetry, contrary to what Europeans in the 19th century said about Kapampangan being a coarse language and could never be used as a medium for the exalted art form of the zarzuela. Thus, they recited poetry when they narrated a story (kuriru), when they prayed (pasyon), and even when they argued and debated (crissotan). According to Edna Zapanta Manlapaz, in Kapampangan kawatasan (poetry), meter (sukad) was based on the number of syllables per line (talatag), the most frequently used of which were 6, 8, 12 and 16 syllables, arranged in a variety of stanza forms, except for lyric poetry (the most popular and enduring kind of poetry), whose meter was 16 syllables per line arranged in six (6) stanzas, popularized by Jose Gallardo.

Today, most if not all of the surviving poets in Pampanga and Tarlac have adopted the Gallardo style, claiming it is the easiest to recite. However, the younger set prefers free verse. Examples:

16 SYLLABLES, SIX STANZAS

Lupit na ning Pinatubu, karing pusu minie lumbe,
Minie takut, sakit, danup, kabiguan at tagulele;
Dapot babo niting sabla busal ning bie sunde-sape
Tetagan ding Kapampangan, tiningkad pa at metibe;
Madiwa rang pamagbangun iti masiag yang patune
King libutad ning dalumdum, atin sunlag a tagumpel!

Francisco Guinto

FREE VERSE

Ika at ya, ketang suldit a ita—
Gilutan ing milabas,
Pigtaksilan ing nanu mang pamanimbang;
(At kabud mibuklat ing panimanman—)
Sabian mu na, makananung
Keng mumunang uma
Melino ngan ing kabaldugan?

Tec Sanchez Tolosa

CRISSOTAN

KAPAMPANGANS WERE SO AT HOME
WITH POETRY THAT THEY EVEN
DEBATED IN VERSE

By Robby Tantingco

Two years after the first balagtas was held in 1924, Kapampangans came up with their own version of the argumentative verse, calling it crissotan, in honor of Juan Crisostomo Soto. Usually held in the plaza during town fiestas, this highly entertaining debate pitted two speakers who gave the audience a sense of extemporaneity but had actually been given the topic and prepared their poetic arguments days in advance. Crissotan is actually a well-rehearsed show, which begins as a speech by one speaker on stage, who seems surprised when suddenly someone from the audience stands up to challenge him to a debate. The speaker on stage of course accepts the challenge and invites the challenger to join him on stage. A moderator appears, takes his place between the debaters and delivers his own opening speech, followed by the debaters each reciting his dedication of his performance to a muse, whom he begs for inspiration. The muse responds by giving the debater a rose which he wears throughout the crissotan.

The debate proper consists of eight (8) rounds; each round with two (2) stanzas, each stanza composed of eight (8) rhymed lines, each line with 12 or 16 syllables. At the end of the debate, the winner is chosen on the basis of substance and delivery, either by a panel of judges composed of three poets, or by the audience through applause, or both.

A variation of the crissotan is the tolentinuan, after Aurelio Tolentino, which features three debaters, five rounds with three stanzas each.

The crissotan were popular even until after World War II, when they were regularly broadcast over the radio. The last major proponent was Jose Gallardo.

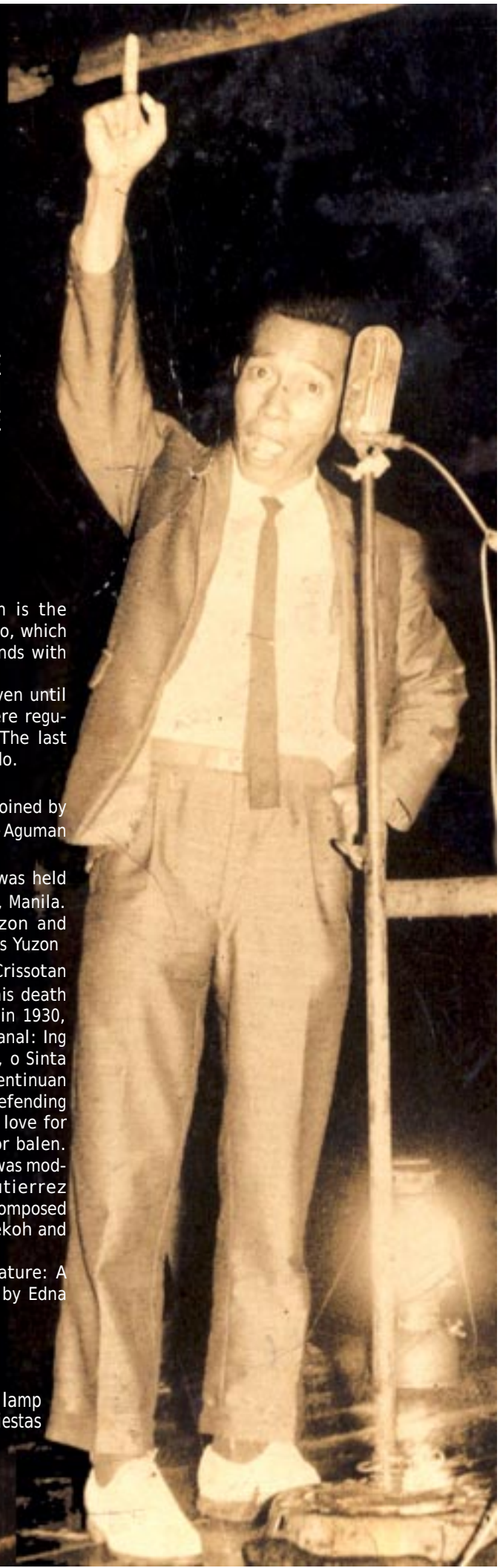
- The term crissotan was coined by poet Amado Yuzon, founder of the Aguman Crissot.

- The first crissotan ever was held in a private residence in Sta. Cruz, Manila. The two debaters were Lino Dizon and Nicasio Dungo; the moderator was Yuzon.

- Yuzon was the Ari ning Crissotan (Crissotan King) from 1930 until his death in 1979. When he won the title in 1930, the topic was *Insanu ing Lacuas Banal: Ing Sinta king Balen, Lugud king Indu, o Sinta king Dalaga?* It was actually a tolentinuan (three-way debate), with Yuzon defending love for indu, Silvestre Punsalan love for dalaga, and Roman Reyes love for balen. Held in San Fernando, this debate was moderated by Justice Eduardo Gutierrez David, and was judged by a panel composed of Edilberto Joven, Conrado Gwekoh and Modesto Joaquin.

(Source: Kapampangan Literature: A Historical Survey and Anthology by Edna Zapanta Manlapaz)

Jose Gallardo performed by gas lamp
during town fiestas



Format of the Crissotan

FIRST SPEAKER delivers a soliloquy on stage

SECOND SPEAKER rises from the audience to challenge First Speaker

FIRST SPEAKER invites Second Speaker to join him on stage

SECOND SPEAKER joins First Speaker on stage

LAKANDIWA (Moderator) delivers introduction on debate topic

FIRST SPEAKER dedicates his performance to his Muse

SECOND SPEAKER dedicates his performance to his Muse

MUSE rewards the First Speaker with a Flower; First Speaker wears it

MUSE rewards the Second Speaker with a flower; Second Speaker wears it

FIRST DURUT (ROUND):

FIRST SPEAKER delivers a two-stanza argumentation

SECOND SPEAKER delivers a one-stanza refutation, followed by a second stanza of new argument

SECOND DURUT - SEVENTH DURUT:

FIRST SPEAKER gives a one-stanza refutation and a one-stanza new argument

SECOND SPEAKER responds with a one-stanza refutation and another stanza of new argument

EIGHTH DURUT:

FIRST SPEAKER gives a one-stanza refutation and final stanza of summation

SECOND SPEAKER delivers a two-stanza summation

Sample Crissotan titles by JOSE GALLARDO

Kenu la Lalung Agad Mabiya deting Anac a magaral, qng Mabagsik a Talaturo, o qng Maganaca?

Nung Maquisawa ya ing Metung a Lalaki, isanu caya ing Pilinan na, ing Mabanding Mansura, o ing Malagung alang Cualta?

Ninu ing Lalung E Mayap Kasiping Bale, Ing Sismosa o Ing Mapamiasa?

Ninu ing Lalung E Mayap, Ing Mataco o Ing Mapanaco?

Ninu Dapat Parsalanan qng Pangapakaroc na Kayasalan ning Penganak, Ing Pengare o Ing Penganac?

Kaninu ya Lalung Macasiguru Kaligtasan a Bie ing Tau, qng Saken a Mables, o qng Makupad?

Isanu ing Maigit Maulaga at Masuyu qng balen, ing Pluma o ing Sandata?

Isanu ing Maigit Mayap, ing Mayna o ing Masikan?

Nung Mikawani la ring Miasawang atin Metung a Anak, Kenu ya Sukat Manatili ing Kareleng Anak, qng Babae o qng Lalake?

Isanu ing E Mas Mayap, ing Ugaling Saligoso o ing Ugaling Dungu?

Isanu ing Migit Mayap, ing Ketwan o ing Kayanakan?

Sukat ya o E Sukat Rira ling Diborsyu keti Pilipinas?

Ninu ing Migit Masuyu qng Balen, ing Sundalo o ing Ortelanu?

Sukat la o E Sukat Makialam ping Pengari king Pamakipalsinta ning Anak da?

Isanu ing Mas E Mayap a Bisyu, ing Sugarol o ing Lasenggu?

Nung Bisa kang Maging Maligaya king Pamakyasawa, ninu ing Pilinan mung Pakasalan, ing Malagung Matamad, o itang Matsurang Masipag?

Insanu ing Mas Matimbang at karampatang Ibie king Metung a Mikasala, Patawad o Parusa?

Sukat Kaya o E Sukat Gawan Legal ing Sugalan?

King Pamakyasawa, Ninu ing Migit Maligaya, ing Mikasal king Palsinta na E Naman Malsinta Kaya, o Itang Mikasal king E Naman Palsintan a Malsinta Naman Kaya?

Insanu ing Migit Maulaga, ing Ginto o ing Bakal?



NOT-QUITE-DEAD POETS SOCIETY

HOW TO BECOME *POETA LAUREADO*, *ARI NING CRISSOTAN* AND *ARI NING PARNASO*

By Robby Tantingco and Francisco Guintu



Amado Yuzon



Jose Gallardo



Vedasto Ocampo

Kapampangan poets today are mostly old and grey, but they carry on their head the dignity of long-ago glory. This is symbolized by the gold crown of laurel leaves, which used to be the most prized award a poet could get, but today mere museum pieces and oddities from a bygone era.

Once upon a time, there was a poet in every Kapampangan household, who recited verses at the slightest provocation. Today, the few that remain meet only once in a while, during town fiesta when the mayor organizes a crissotan, or during parties when they spew rhymed drunken utterances over a plate of sisig.

But if you ask them, they will all say they are poeta laureado, or poets laureate, supposedly the highest honor a poet could get. But in Pampanga, where there is a hierarchy of titles in this underground poets society, there is only one Ari ning Parnaso, and that is Vedasto Ocampo of

Magalang. But then someone will step forward and claim to be the Ari ning Crissotan, and you begin to scratch your head and ask them to explain the difference between these honorific titles.

A Poeta Laureado is a poet who wins a ligligan (contest) sponsored by a fiesta committee or a school. The contest is written, not oral, i.e., the judges declare the best written poems the winner, not the best recited. There have been many ligligan where the contending poets had the option to read their poems or recite them extemporaneously; it doesn't matter. By the time the contestant recites his entry, a winner has already been chosen on the basis of the written entry.

Even if a poet has been declared poeta laureado for winning in a poetry writing contest, he can still join other such contests and can still win, but cannot be declared a poeta laureado again. Which is

why almost every living old poet in Pampanga today is a poeta laureado.

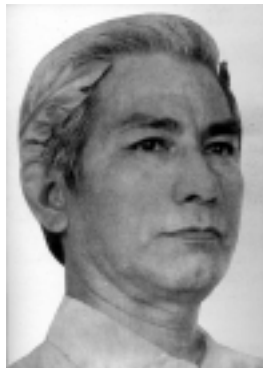
The first ever poeta laureado in Pampanga was Amado Yuzon, who won the first-ever ligligan kawatasan (poetry contest) in 1927 held in Magalang. His poem was entitled Bayung Jerusalem ning Cabayanan. Jose Gallardo of Candaba became a poet laureate in 1950 in a contest held in Sto. Cristo, Guagua, for his poem Ing Pamana. There were of course many other poets before him who deserved the title, but since one could only be declared a poeta laureado after winning a ligligan, he was the first official poeta laureado.

Sometimes, in the absence of a ligligan after a long long time, poets decide among themselves to declare a poeta laureado by acclamation.

An Ari ning Crissotan (King of Crissotan) is the winner of a crissotan (verbal joust) contest sponsored by a legitimate organization, in which he beats the incumbent Ari ning Crissotan. The first Ari ning Crissotan was (again) Amado Yuzon who ruled a crissotan contest in 1930 held in San Fernando, beating Silvestre Punzalan and Roman Reyes. The debate was about which love was supreme: love of country, love of God and love of mother. Yuzon had picked love of mother (lugud king indu). Meanwhile, the other great Kapampangan poet of the 20th century, Jose Gallardo, became Ari ning Crissotan in 1952 in a crissotan where he beat fellow poet Abdon Jingco. The following year, Marcelo Cabrera of Macabebe beat Gallardo, thus



Rosario Baluyut



Querubin Fernandez



Geronimo del Rosario



Eufrociña de la Peña



Jaspe Dula



Felix Gracia



Phol Batac



Francisco Guintu



Amado Gigante



Teodulio Turla

becoming an Ari ning Crissotan.

Finally, the Ari ning Parnaso (King of Parnassus) is the poet who wins in a grand competition that involves writing poetry, reciting it, and crissotan. This is the literary equivalent of the sports world's triathlon, and it is held only once in a while, after the death of an Ari ning Parnaso. There can only be one living Ari ning Parnaso.

The first Ari ning Parnaso was, that's right, Amado Yuzon who got the title by acclamation since by then he was already an internationally recognized poet. After his death in 1979, the title was transferred to Jose Gallardo, again by acclamation, since he was an acknowledged master in poetry, crissotan, zarzuela, kuriru, komedya, etc. After Gallardo's death, the

Akademiyang Kapampangan and Angeles University Foundation sponsored a multi-genre contest to pick Gallardo's successor as Ari ning Parnaso. The winner was Vedasto Ocampo. The last ligligan ever held which picked a poeta laureado was sponsored by Holy Angel University in 2004; the winner was Francisco Guintu

FOLK MINSTRELS

THE ALMOST-EXTINCT *POLOSA* AND *BASULTO* SINGERS OF PAMPANGA



Rodolfo Laxamana a.k.a. Totoy Bato

Totoy Bato has been copied, exploited, rumored dead, his name used to borrow money and get advanced payment--proof of his extraordinary popularity among Kapampangans. In fact, he has achieved cult stature in this province; his name is almost generic, i.e., anyone who sings polosa is a Totoy Bato. For instance, Ruth Lobo complains that his songs on pirated CDs are labeled Totoy Bato. Today there is a Totoy Bato Jr., who is still different from Totoy Bato 2, and there's a Totoy Bato 3 and a Totoy Bato 4, all polosadores riding on the popularity of the original Totoy Bato (real name: Rodolfo Laxamana of Porac).

When Totoy Bato gets invited to town fiestas, political rallies, company programs and private parties, he usually brings along a team composed of a guitarist (usually Oca Vergara, who has his own portable sound system), a comedy duo (usually Pusoy Dos, composed of Monching Basilio and Rico

Dizon), and another polosador (usually Ruth Lobo), who alternates with him.

Polosadores are performers of polosa, a folk musical genre that is often confused with basulto, which is the beat. Polosa is extemporaneous singing, usually bawdy and reminiscent of Fred Panopio's yodeling (Panopio, by the way, is Kapampangan). Polosadores are in demand because they liven up parties and programs with their extemporaneous songs enriched with details about a celebrator's, guest's or honoree's life or looks. All a polosador needs to do is take a quick look at a person and he can already compose a song on the spot and sing it, too.

Polosa may have come from the word prosa, which is a lower category than poesiya, which is exalted language. Polosa, of course, uses the language of the masses.

THE LOST SINGING AND RIDDLING CULTURE OF KAPAMPANGANS IS THE RING REALLY GONE?



Bacolor family of musicians

THE ONCE-SUBLIME POETIC GENRES HAVE DETERIORATED INTO BAWDY JINGLES AND RIBALD TUNES, AND WAKES AND REUNIONS ARE NO LONGER HOSTED BY POETS AND FOLK SINGERS, WHO ARE ALL IN THEIR TWILIGHT YEARS. TO ADD INSULT TO INJURY, THEY OFTEN RESORT TO UNDIGNIFIED WAYS OF SOLICITING ATTENTION AND FUNDING

By Joel Pabustan Mallari

Dalit a bugtungan, bugtungan a dadalit, o dalit at bugtungan?

Poetry has its different characterization in every culture around the world. In the Philippines, as in Kapampangan, poetry still contains many of the 'early forms'. Much of it though is buried in our prehistoric past because of the absence of documentation. The problem with local literary approaches is that local poetry forms are viewed in the western context. Thus much of studies undertaken focus primarily on the measurement of forms like the number of syllables, lines, stanzas and rhyming and not on the anthropological and sociological background.

Dalit and Marungay vis-à-vis Chinese Kanshi

Fr. Alvaro de Benavente¹, a Spanish missionary who worked in Pampanga from 1672 to 1698, wrote the *Arte y vocabulario de la lengua Pampango*, which remains in manuscript form. In this work he noted that the Kapampangan language had two early

forms of poetry namely: The Marungay [Manungay?] and the Dalit. The first one is dramatic and sung while rowing and during festivities. One person sings and the others answers with an estribillo or refrain. The refrain does not have a fixed number of syllables, while the Marungay has 6 syllables, and the Dalit, which is graver in tone, has 7 syllables, or three feet and a caesura. In the early Heian Period (794-1185 AD in Japan) Kanshi² (Chinese poetry) was the most popular form of poetry among Japanese aristocrats. The most popular style of Kanshi has 5 or 7 syllables in 4 or 8 lines. These, when chanted, were referred to as Shigin- a practice which continues today. Ancient potteries such as Chinese jars traded in the Philippines had verses written on them. The trade with China could have been as early as the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618-906). Within the archipelago like those areas surrounding the Manila Bay the recovery of Tang and Tang-type trade ceramics are evidences of this

early trade. On the other hand, examples of dalit from the Luther Parker collection compiled during the early 20th century mostly have 8 syllables. Available versions of pasiun chanted during the Lenten season have syllables of 8, some have 6 or 7. The difference in the number of syllables might have something to do with the way it was sung or chanted. The prolongation of tones consists of several counts equivalent to a number of syllables.

Dalit or Kanta? Contemporary forms and cognates

Ricardo E. Galang³ in 1940, categorized some genres of Kapampangan literature. He listed tumaila as lullabies, basultu as an allegorical or comic song, kundiman as lovesongs, jarana [arana] as a serenade, irijia [aria] superstitious beliefs, vida or bie as folklore, pigmulan as legends, kasebian [casebian] as maxims or proverbs, karagatan [caragatan] as poetical jousts, bugtung as riddles and dalit as a song on rustic life. Dalit is different from the kanta

because kanta is the generic term for all types of songs Galang mentioned. Dalit may actually refer to one literary category or form just like the old dalit mentioned by Fr. Benavente. Accordingly it is apparent that taladalit, literally the singer of dalit may have been a type of magkanta. It is just in the same category as magbasultu or mamulosu, the singers of basultu and pulosa respectively. Likewise, Fr. Bergano in his 1860 version of Kapampangan dictionary, wrote the meaning of dalit as “couplet, ballad, Pampango songs... Manyalit, to sing them...Délit, the song and to whom it is sung. Mirálitán, sing to one another.” Other important entries he listed are as follows:

Gàlay. (diphthong.) Noun, tone or range of the voice, like in solmizing or voice practice. Neutral verb, to sing in this manner, to chant. See, Guegay. Idiomatically, Migagalay, Migalegalay, to “sing”, not only in the intonation of music, but also in divulging some secret. Pigalegalay, the thing divulged. Pigalegale ra ita, that is what they go about chanting/ divulging. Also, Pagalay, the bait that is moved in little jerking motions on the surface of the water, like the little beats made for one going over the notes in solfeggio. Pagalayan, the place, or the fish as the objective of such an action. Mamagalay, the fisherman who makes such jerking motions with the bait;

Sacurut. (a.) Adjective, is said of one who speaks or acts precipitously, or with a speedy gait, sacurut ya pamanagcas, sacurut ya panlacad. Active verb and its constructions, to speak, or to read, or to act speedily. P. 2. that which. Mi, with intent, and its passive without an, in the past tense. See Guegai, Galai, its opposites, and you will understand sacurut;

Bingcayo. (g.) Noun, lullaby, a song to lull babies to sleep. Active verb, past and future, migcayo, or, magbincayao, to sing to lull a baby. P. 1. the baby. P. 3. the place, like, a hammock. Maca, becoming lulled, able to lull;

Taila. (pp.) Noun, lullaby. Neutral verb, future, Tumaila, and its variation, Imagtumaila, to sing a tumaila, a lullaby. P. 1. Ipagtumaila, the person to whom/ for whom a tumaila is sung/ chanted.

Tagumpay. (diphthong). Noun, victory. Magtagumpay, to sing of, or celebrate a victory P. 3. the conquered. Gamba, and Alaula, is for the barbarous negritos after they have cut off heads

The manner of literary delivery and exchange is apparently significant even before. In fact the term gale (diphth. galai) is still being used today which now refers

to the manner of delivering a poetic verse, thus talagale refers to the poet who delivers a verse. The term gege (diphth. guegai) is the pattern of voice intonation and is the opposite of the old sacurut term. These evolutions are also seen on the general understanding of the present use of the tumaila term. This relatively new term specifically refers to a lullaby while it was actually referred to bingcayo around the 18th century. On the other hand the taila was the generic word for all “kinds” of lullabies before. Today, the uses of dalit, and kanta are unconsciously interchanged in use and in definition. Although in some aspects dalit are now considered strictly as religious songs or old folksongs and kanta are those that are considered popular songs that follow the trend of western music. Likewise, the term kanta has become the generic term for all kinds of singing, from the lalarin-larin lullabies we unconsciously hum to the modern introduction of voiced music.

DALIT, KARAGATAN, TALUBANGAN, BULAKLAKAN, TAILA, GÁLĒ, BASULTU, MARÚNGĒ, KIKIMUT, KASEBIAN AND OTHER PRE-HISPANIC FOLK EXPRESSIONS ONCE FLOURISHED THROUGHOUT THE KAPAMPANGAN REGION

Dalit at bugtung, pre-18th century art and wisdom of singing

Dalit is not an exclusive term among the Kapampangans, According to Jose Villa Panganiban⁴, dalit is a term known to Bicolanos, Kapampangans and Tagalogs as a psalm or a religious hymn having a dithyrambic epic. In an 1860 Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala, dalit is defined as “copla, o apodo con ella”. It has the same meaning with the older Tagalog dictionary of San Buenaventura published in 1627. It is equivalent to bogtong. So dalit is bogtong or bugtung in Kapampangan. This definition of dalit is similar to that of Fray Diego Bergaño. But as earlier noted, it is a ballad, “Pampango song”. Interestingly, no entries about basultu, pulosa are mentioned. Apparently, pulosa is an indigenized term of the Spanish prosa; while according to Prof. Felipe de Leon, basultu songs like “Atin Cu Pung Singing” have their similarity at least their melody to 18th century, Spanish and Mexican folksongs. This folksong carries various interpretations among several scholars, which indicates the enigmatic case of how Kapampangans compose their songs, the kanta, their dalit as riddles that measure their wisdom.

Fray Diego Bergaño recorded several terms that picture Kapampangans’ riddling culture like auit, bugtung, taqui-taqui,

magtalubang etc. Auit is a “riddle, or metaphor in verse, like giving congratulations. Magauit, migauit, to recite such verses. Pagauit, pigauit, to whom these metaphors / verses are addressed”. Moreover, auitan, inauit, refers to the person one has endeavored to attract; while mayayauit, meyauit, mayauit, is “the one that becomes attracted. Voluptate trahitur, carried away by the pleasant emotion.” Fray Bergaño adds “no other word can express it with great propriety. Trahit, sua quemque voluptas, its pleasure carries away everyone...” This term is also common not only to Kapampangans but also to other languages like Hiligaynon and Cebuano ...⁵ On the other hand, Fray Bergano recorded bugtung as an adjective for “unique, the only one” which is still being used today. But he noted that “it also means, to proffer riddles or enigmas” while bugtungan, is the riddle, the guessing game. Other words for this match are taquitaqui, and magtalubang⁶, Fray

Bergano defines the former as “a thing spoken of in riddle, enigma, emphasis, and adage” and the latter as “to play the guessing game of the very cunning” respectively.

The examples of riddles found in the 1860 version of Vocabulario of Fr. Bergano, depict ordinary happenings in daily living, which are delivered as riddles. Some of which are as follows:

“Linucsu yang dalaga, mebalag yang saya na: the maiden jumped, her skirt dropped: a riddle about the grain, jumping at the heat of the pan, it puffs, and discards its shell / husk, as Emebusa⁷...

Libolibong⁸ silo mo, palad nung acua mo co, is a riddle about the shadow: You may have a thousand traps, it will be your good fortune if you can catch me...

Ing quigli co quebuctut, suyi⁹ yang macatapuc, muban ya yata quing lub, alan manđacung sibut, v. g. Pedro wishes to marry Maria, but her father detests Pedro, or if her father approves, Maria does not, unless there is one who would remove the difficulties, his wish would remain a mere wish. Literally, what I conceived and now is pregnant with it, appears to be in a breech position; there is a danger it shall grow old inside, without any prospect of it coming out...

Alang mininggang ibat quing lub, No one was born learned, and also, No one comes out of the womb already dressed. Inquire about the meaning of this riddle: Ding culyauan adua minđatba la quing san”a. Two orioles roosting on the either side of the branch...”

Every set of the above mentioned examples comes in a 2-line of 6-syllable format phrase. Poeta Geronimo Del Rosario once made an important insight on this, saying that these old phrases like *bugtung* may not be that extraordinary to early Kapampangans as we come across on them today, they were just part of the ordinary lines of thoughts and understanding, just like old words that we seldom use today.

Dalit = *bugtungan* and *marungay* = *basultu*

The *marungay* might be the early form of *basultu* before, since some of the classic examples like the “O Caca, o Caca” and “Atin Cu Pung Singsing” each has 6-syllable pattern. To date, the general practice of *basultu* singing is composed of naming persons especially guests or listeners present and or narrating present situations. This can be related to the early *marungay* (or *manungay*), of 6 syllables. The term *manungay*, is a diphthongized term of *manungge* which literally means pointing or mentioning something like persons or things. Another context of this term somewhat challenged those persons pointed at or mentioned. As in the case of Fr. Benvente’s description, one person sings (as *manungge*?) and another answers.

Thus the old *dalit* is now known as *bugtungan* and the old *marungay* (or *manungay*) is the *basultu* (and or *pulosa*). The old description for *dalit* and *marungay* fits well with Fr. Bergano’s examples of *bugtungan* and that of the old and famous *basultu* pieces like “O Caca, o Caca” and “Atin Cu Pung Singsing” of today.

Secret links of *bugtungan*, *karagatan* and *bulaklakan*

In an ethnographical essay done by Demetria Santos,¹⁰ there seems to be a slight difference in these two forms of riddle games. As she relates, “*bugtungan* needs no further explanation and *karagatan* is somewhat the same as *bugtungan* but done only in a much complicated way”. In this case, the people divide themselves into two groups.

In a compilation “A Little Book of Filipino Riddles”¹¹ the various terms for a Filipino riddle are: in Ilocano it is *burburtia*, in Pangasinan *boniqueo*, in Tagal [Tagalog] *bugtong*, in Pampangan *bugtong*, in Bisayan *tugmahanon*. This collection further narrates that the “young people mostly give out Filipino riddles. When several are gathered together they will question and answer; they are much in vogue when a young gentleman calls upon his sweetheart; among Tagals [Tagalog] and Pampangans at least the chief occasion for giving *bugtong* is when a little group are watching at night beside a corpse. In propounding a riddle it is not uncommon to challenge attention by repeating as witty a rhyme, which is quite

POETIC JOUSTS LIKE BULAKLAKAN DURING WAKES ARE MEANT TO EASE THE PAIN OF THE BEREAVED

as often coarse as witty.”

On the other hand, in the ethnographical study done by Leon Gonzales¹² in 1915, *bugtungan* and *karagatan* [*caragatan*] are part of the old customs done by Kapampangans. These activities are usually associated with burial ceremonies. Both involve a beautiful verbal poetic joust. Extant examples show that *bugtungan* have 2 or 3 lines only while the latter is a progressive type of an emotional debate. Moreover, according to the experience of poet Amado Gigante, *karagatan* is traditionally considered as the introductory part of every session of *bulaklakan*. These 2 genres together with *kikimut*, *paisipan*, and *kasebian* are regarded as old forms of pre-Hispanic Kapampangan drama according to Edna Zapanta Manlapaz¹³. She notes that *kikimut* is similar to the Tagalog *karilyo*, a shadow play; while the *paisipan* and *kasebian* are variants of *bugtungan*.

The following is an example of rhymed poetic conversation between the *ari* (called *poderdanti*) and the *makiabe* (*suplikanti*). It was provided by A. Gigante based from what he heard from the older generation of poets he met before.

Makiabe: “Ginung mikibandi kaniti king
santungan
Aring pamuntuk na niting
katatagan
Nanding maglakad ku king tulid
nitang dalan
Ding dakal a tau kaku lang amatan

Inia mengutang ku, karelang
pakibat atin bulaklakan”
“A maginung ari, nung kekong
itulut
Kening katatagan, bias kusang
lauk
Ban matad kung saya karetang
malungkut
A likuan ning bangke atlu pamung
aldo ketang pangakutkut”

Pakibat ning Ari (The king answers):
“Ing amung magsalita nung bias
kang lauk
Kening katatagan, buri kung abalu
nung dakal ing abias ing kekang
daralan
Uling siguradung detang disan
Ing sablang bakal mu, iti itun
dangan
Kanita masubuk ampong mabitasa
King dakal ya bitbit iting kekang

diua”

(Afterwhich, the *makiabe* paces, for every step of the way he provides wisdom of contemplation)

“Kanian kekang panlub ing aduan
ming saria
Ing balang takbang mu
Dian mung kabaldugan para king
Dios lbpa...”

This excerpt involves a deep sense of wisdom and quick thinking. It is a challenge to the wit. Among other contemporary sources, *bulaklakan* is regarded as equivalent to the Tagalog *duplo*, a poetic game or contest dramatically strung into a short narrative sequence. Folksingers like brothers Johnny, Florentino and Francisco G. David of Jalung, Porac vividly remember the manner *bulaklakan* was played. According to them, the old name of this game is *talubangan*. This is what Fr. Bergano mentioned as *magtalubang* in his 1860 glossary compilation. This poetic guessing game involves the use of imaginary characters like *talubang* (butterflies usually composed of male participants) and *bulaklak* or *sampaga* (flowers, the female members). The metaphorical interaction of characters takes place when the *talubang* flies and carries a *bugtung* and lands on a *bulaklak*. It is then answered in verse also. The separation of sexes indicates gender rivalry and the victorious members end up as new partners or lovers.

Fr. Bergano provided an excellent example as he wrote, “*Bintalbintalan*¹⁴...is held like a thing that was never seen before; from this nuance, the word is used for a game of wits, similar to that played by two or more contestants, so they say, Ing *talubang* banua *bintalbintalancoya*, *mecayabpayabpa can Pedro*, and the answer, *E dimpa*; the rejoinder: *Nuya dimpa?* *Talubang banua*, (a certain species of butterfly, which no one has ever seen), and the others now inquire from the contestants in the game. (The heavenly butterfly I am inquiring it may have alighted on Pedro. No, it has not! Where could it be?)”

19th Century Karagatan Evolution

Generally in the 19th century, the indigenous poetic joust evolves into a folk verse game that sometimes involved a man and a woman. The *karagatan* just like the Tagalog *duplo*/*dupluhan* had male (*belyako*/ *bellacos*) and female (*belyaka*/ *bellacas*) participants who presented in a make-believe court litigation, accused one another of fantastic crimes in highly puzzling terms while the accused defended themselves in terms just as puzzling¹⁵, argued their cases in elegant verses. The poetic joust like *karagatan*, *bulaklakan*, *duplo* and *juego de prenda* were actually used to entertain guests and bereaved

families during wakes.

Later on Spanish influences came in, thus variants of poetic joust created the Crissotan and Tolentinuan¹⁶ genre. Crissotan is the Kapampangan equivalent of the Tagalog balagtas (named after Francisco Balagtas, the name by which Francisco Baltazar is popularly known). It is the art of publicly arguing in extemporaneous, metered and rhymed poetry composed of two opposing master poets with a moderator called lakandiua, while Tolentinuan has three arguing individuals. The former was first coined in 1925 (one year after the first Balagtas was held in Manila, April 6, 1924) by Amado Yuzon in honor of Juan Crisostomo Soto. The latter was first held in 1930 in a Pampanga Carnival Fair which was participated in by Amado M. Yuzon, Silvestre M. Punzalan and Roman P. Reyes. The crissotan just like balagtas has its parallel in Visayan (using the same balagtas name), Ilocano (bukanegan in honor of the poet Pedro Bukaneg, the transcriber of the epic Lam-ang), which began in the early 1930s.

The 20th century saw the entrenchment of American neo-colonial culture through the transplantation of American political institutions, popular education, the introduction of the English language and religious reformation. A lot of writings, journalistic and literary, deplored social diseases perceived to have been brought about by America. Writers deliberately exerted efforts to resist this. If the Tagalog duplo gave birth to the balagtas, karagatan and bulaklakan gave birth to crissotan, tolentinuan. They all became vehicles of social protests in the 1920s as Ruth Elynia Mabanglo notes. In fact much of these voices of protest penetrated all forms of literary genres. One of the best examples is the Pasion ding Talapagobra of Lino Gopez Dizon printed during the time of Luis Taruc at the height of socialist movement in Pampanga. An excerpt from chapter IX "Ding Tau Sucat lang Mie Antimong Tau", these 171-173 stanzas show a strong socio-political message of humiliation in a perfect 8-syllable rhymed verses:

Ing Dios diman e migculang
Canitang cayang lelasan
Keting yatung cacarinan,
King sabla tang kailangan
Ala tang sucat ilawan.



Dapot ngni surian tamu
Ing cabilian da ring tau
Keti babo na ning yatu,
Ating mabsi, ating mau
King cabiayan a mayubu

Dacal la ring alang bale
Maki-sulut la ring pobre
Ing bili ra macajale,
Dacal la ring mangamate
King danup alang pagcable

Napun, ngeni at bukas: the disappearing act of unique humor

The loss of ancient forms of witty entertainment in today's fading jambori of basulto and dalitan which once served as an effective channel of social reforms is alarming. Most of the remnants of the old wisdom and compositions became dormant in the hands of the "able few". Whatever remained of the early basultos or dalit played in short slots of airtime are limited to the humorous ribald versions of folksongs. Wakes and other social reunions are no longer hosted by folk artists in their houses but by instant services provided by funeral parlors and resorts. Thus intimate social gatherings are diminished into simple meetings over butul pakuan and tetra packed juices. The fact that local artists like poets and folksingers are mostly in their twilight years and very few among the younger generation have the passion to learn this legacy further aggravate the situation. To add insult to this museum-bound tradition is the fact that these old artists and practitioners clamor for public attention and solicit funding for them to support. Thus the puzzling depth and humor of Kapampangan riddles and songs of epic wisdom are most likely headed to the last part of jambori, the cheap public performance, which is not actually appreciated by the new Kapampangan generation. As the popular "non-sensical (?) song "Atin Cu Pung Singsing" goes "meuala ya iti eku kamalayan".

¹ Hernandez, Policarpo OSA, THE AUGUSTINIANS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAMPANGO LITERATURE: THE AUGUSTINIANS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAMPANGO LITERATURE: Printing Press, Philology, Poetry and Religious Literature. Printing Press, Philology, Poetry and Religious Literature. Alaya Journal No.3, Center for Kapampangan Studies, Holy Angel University 2005

² <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shigin>

³ Galang, Ricardo E.

⁴ 1940 Ethnographic Study of the Pampangans. Of the Natural History Museum Division Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Manila

⁵ Pangniban, Jose Villa

1972 Diksiunario-Tesaurus Filipino Ingles

⁶ Santos, Demetria.

June 30, 1915 Religious Beliefs in Connection with the Dead. In Philippine Folklore, social Customs and Beliefs (A Collection of Original Sources) Collected and arranged by H. Otley Beyer Vol 9 (From the Pampangan people) Pampangan paper No. 6 (Folklore #336). Manila. unpublished

⁷ A Little Book of Filipino Riddles by Various. The Project Gutenberg eBook. Release Date: December 15, 2004 [EBook #14358]8859-. Produced by Jeroen Hellingman and the PG Distributed Proofreaders Team, from scans kindly made available by the University of Michigan. <http://www.sakoman.net/pg/html/14358.htm>

⁸ Gonzales, Leon M.

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⁹ Zapanta-Manlapaz, E.

1981 Kapampangan literature: Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press.

¹⁰ Mallari, I.V.

1954 Vanishing Dawn. Mc Cullough Printing Company. Philippines. Pp. 75-79

¹¹ Lacson, Evangelina H.

December 11, 1983 Kapampangan Poetry. Philippine Center of International P.E.N., Cultural Center of the Philippines

Endnotes

¹ Awit n. Kpm. Hlg. Sb. Tg. song, chant, hymn. Syn. kanta, kanto, kansiyon; kundiman, balada, dalit, imno; melodiya, himig, tono; tugtog, musika.—Hlg. ambahanon; Png. laingey; SL. awit. (Panganiban 1972)

² From the word talubang, butterfly

³ From the word busa. This word refers to toasted glutinous rice, the grains are puffed. (Bergaño 1860)

⁴ From the word libo, thousand

⁵ From the word suyi, a thing in reverse, that is upside down, like the feet are above, and the head is below (Bergaño 1860)

⁶ Bintal, the precious stone (Bergaño 1860)

No one knows for sure where the pasyon originated. Some say it evolved from pre-colonial pagan or Hindu epic chanting, ala Lam-ang, which Spanish friars later supplanted with the Christian salvation story. Others say it was the common folk's attempt to reconstruct the Bible (as the Spaniards never published the Bible throughout their 300-year stay here), which explains the apocryphal elements in it.

There are many ways of performing the pasyon. In Cutcut, Angeles City, costumed live performers reenact scenes from the Bible to synchronize with the passages being sung, which is probably a vestige of more elaborate passion plays (sinakulo) whose soundtrack was the pasyon.

In San Basilio, Sta. Rita, villagers put up two wooden balconies in front of the chapel, each bearing a set of pasyon chanters and their respective brass bands. They alternately perform one page from the pasyon at a time, usually to the tune of classical opera pieces.

There was a time when practically every household in Pampanga had a pasyon during Holy Week, performed either by paid singers or by family members themselves.

PASYUN

DEPRIVED OF ACCESS
TO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES,
THE COMMON FOLK CREATED
THEIR OWN VERSION
OF THE BIBLE

In recent years, the Archdiocese of San Fernando has discouraged the pasyon and other Lenten folk practices (like flagellation and crucifixion) by limiting its performance until midnight of Holy Wednesday. Only few pasyon chanters, however, obey the archbishop's circular.

Old pasyon books are still kept like family and community heirlooms. Machine-printed copies have replaced manuscripts; one of the last practitioners of pasyon hand printing is Fr. Venancio Samson of Sta. Cruz, Porac.

The Kapampangan pasyon is either pasyon bininyagan (so called because its opening line is "O taung bininyagan"), or pasyon samaritana (characterized by pro-

fuse illustrations) or the pasyon limbagan (published by Cornelio Pabalan Byron).

The pasyon is divided into stories (istorya), each ending with a lesson (aral); the midsection of the entire pasyon is the memorial, as series of soliloquies by Adam, Moses, Jeremiah, the Virgin, etc. who each expounds on the symbols of the Passion (nails, crown of thorns, etc.).

The chanting alternates between sane (plain singing), for which singers often borrow familiar secular tunes, and gege (mournful chanting), which singers usually coincide with the arrival of flagellants at the puni (makeshift chapels where the pasyon is performed). One entire pasyon can be performed in 24 hours (normal pace) or one-and-a-half days (when the singing is dragged).

Today the pasyon is no longer sung the way it used to be, mainly because old chanters no longer perform all night like before. Instead, they ask younger people to take over the singing in the wee hours and for lack of training, or maybe because they run out of tune, or because they are already inebriated, the young chanters resort to Top 40 tunes. (R. Tangingco)



Making fun of the pasyun or starting 'em young?



Yng pangaglinang nuan á Virgen
 yng mala Anaenang Niño Jesus.

Iñang mique mirasana
 aldo a micatauanyá
 ing mal á caduang Persona
 misan a aldo camita
 yng horas ning Ave Maria

A page from a folksy illustrated pasyun, depicting the Annunciation. These antique books with scintillating designs are genuine family and community heirlooms.

PASYUN OF THE SOCIALISTS

Excerpts from Lino G. Dizon's
Pasion ding Talapagobra

Ding pari antimu naman
Ilang pilit tang usigan
King carelang cacalacal
Ing Dios guewa riang pujunan
Agad ta no mong panualan.

Nung cutnan mo ring sisimba
Ing Dios ya ing sasamban da
At panualan da talaga
Ing catutuan aliwa ya
Nune ping Pari at Cura.

Catutuan ning sinabi cu
Alben yu ing daraptan yu
Pibulayan yu sa ngacu
Potang akilala tamu
Ban e tamu pasibayu.

Ing carelang pamaminyag
Ating mura't mal a bayad
Iti e tamu alingad
Ngeni surian yung banayad
Nung yan utus na ning Mesias.

Dakit mete e pareju
Ing pamamayad intieru
Iti mistulang comerci
Ngeni cucutnan da cayu
Nung iti yutes ning Guinu..



PASYON CANDABA

The so-called Pasyon Candaba is in Tagalog, not Kapampangan. It was written in 1852 by a Tagalog native priest, Fr. Aniceto de la Merced, who was the parish priest of Candaba at the time.



SERENATA

IT WAS THE MOST AWAITED EVENT OF THE NIGHT,
LASTING UNTIL THE WEE HOURS

In the early 1900s, another most awaited public entertainment in Pampanga, aside from the zarzuela, was the competition between brass bands, usually held in the church patio or in the plaza. Two or more contending bands coming from different towns squared off before a crowd, playing alternately until they ran out of pieces to play. The last band standing, i.e., the band that could play the most number of pieces without repeating, was declared winner, and was awarded a hefty sum, enough to cover the expenses incurred from weeks of practice.

The competition could last up to 48 consecutive hours, sometimes longer. According to Mariano Henson, "cockfighting, boxing, fencing, basketball, horse-racing have not created so bitter animosities between rival towns as did musical tournaments of yesterday."

The repertoire consisted of arias, fantasies, opera pieces from Verdi, Gounod,



Rossini, Auber, Bellini, Donizetti, Meyerbeer, Flotow, and of course, local folk songs.

Among the better known brass bands in Pampanga were the 37-member Band of Angeles and the Brass-and-Reed Band of Sta. Rita, which were considered top rivals.

FIRST FILIPINO CALLIGRAPHIC ARTIST-PRIEST



Fr. Hipolito was the parish priest of Sta. Ana, Pampanga from 1809 to 1833. He is known as the first Filipino calligraphic artist-priest. His favorite subjects were Spaniards, giant bees and forests. Pages of parish reports and documents were often decorated with beautiful handwriting and drawings.

THE SERIAL-KILLER PRIEST OF MAGALANG



Fr. Juan Severino Mallari was the parish priest of Magalang, Pampanga from 1812 to 1826, during which he became mentally ill. He was later accused of murdering 57 of his parishioners, for which he was sentenced to death by hanging in 1840. Thus he became the first Filipino priest to suffer the death penalty (the GOMBURZA were executed in 1872). By the way, Fr. Mallari is known as the second Filipino calligraphic artist-priest, after fellow Kapampangan Fr. Hipolito. His favorite subjects are naked boy angels.

Art History of Calligraphy

Calligraphy is the art of fine handwriting, in which the form of the letters is decorative or elaborate. This term was derived from the Greek *kalligraphia* ("beautiful writing"), which is usually applied to writing done in ink, but can also refer to inscriptions in a cursive script on stone or engraved in metal just like the old tradition of copperplate and pottery inscription in Southeast Asia. Calligraphy ranges from functional inscriptions and hand lettering to fine art pieces where the expression of the handwritten mark may take precedence over the legibility of the letters. The oldest surviving form of calligraphy is the hieroglyphic script developed by the Egyptians in the 3rd millennium BC. This script, based on picture-writing, is often said to be the most attractive form of writing ever devised. Phonetic symbols (representing sounds) and ideographic symbols (representing concepts) take the form of objects, animals, and people. Hieroglyphics were carved on monuments and inside tombs, usually in association with figurative relief sculpture. On papyrus manuscripts, hieroglyphic script, executed with a broad-edge reed pen, was often pleasingly incorporated into the scenes to which it related. By the 5th century BC, a less complicated method of writing had been developed by the Phoenicians; the Greeks with whom the Phoenicians traded used this system as a basis for the first alphabet.

In China and Japan calligraphy has for many centuries been a highly respected art form, and is considered at par with painting: The same soft brush and ink, and the same light and swift technique that are used in Oriental painting are also used for calligraphy. A fine piece of calligraphy would be admired in the same way as a painting.

Around 1750 BC, during the Shang dynasty, Chinese calligraphy emerged as a writing system in which the characters, in

the form of pictograms and ideograms, are executed within an imaginary square and read vertically from top to bottom.

On the other hand, among the manuscripts in Charles R. Boxer's collection, (Boxer Codex 1590), there is a report that described the method of writing of the early people in the Philippines, which according to Antoon Postma, is still used today by the Mangyan tribes of Mindoro and the Tagbanua of Palawan in writing their own script:

"When they write, it is on some tablets made of bamboos which they have in those islands, on the bark. In using such a tablet, which is four fingers wide, they do not write with ink, but with some scribes with which they cut the surface and bark of the bamboo, and make the letters."

In the 1619 *Arte Y Vocabulario De La Lengua Pampanga* of Fray Alvaro De Benavente, he was able to record samples of the old calligraphy of the Kapampangans. In Fray Diego Bergano's 1860 edition dictionary, he did mention several hints about the native calligraphy of the Kapampangans. Some examples read as follows:

Culít, fine points in Pampango handwriting. Magculit, to learn reading its characters... Pagculitan, a little book of exercises in Pampango spelling;

Lalam, under, opposite of above... Y lalamo que yang susulat mo. Place it below what you are writing;

Tumbalic, to put something in reverse, that is, what usually is atop is place below, like the penmanship going upwards;

Thus it can also be presumed in addition to previous paleographical studies that the native Kapampangan scripts like most of the native Philippine scripts are very similar to the writing system of most oriental countries like China and Japan, and that of the Indian and Islamic calligraphy of Asia in general.

Ancient Philippine Scripts

Upon the arrival of the Spaniards in the

Philippines, most of the people were already capable of reading and writing. Pedro Chirino notes in his 1604 *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, "...there is scarcely anybody who cannot read and write in letters proper to the island of Manila." It can be presumed that their literacy is relatively based on the use of their own native scripts and language. The ancient "letters" or scripts were even mistakenly called for the longest time in history as "alibata" from an Arabic term / alif / , / ba / , / ta / . It was during the time of Antonio de Morga (1609) that he thought these characters resemble the Arabic alphabet. Through the course of history the likes of Paul Verzosa and Pardo de Tavera propagated this term without scrutinizing much of the contextual background of these old Philippine scripts. Thus the word "alibata" is not the right term for this ancient script. At present these almost fossilized scripts are now called Baybayin, or Kulitan based on recent research and use which actually denotes the phonetical characters of these old scripts.

To date, only the Tagbanua of Palawan and two tribes of Mangyans in Mindoro still write in their own native scripts except for some of the scholars of Philippine paleography. On the other hand, there are at least three widely recognized artifacts that are evidence of early "Filipino writing" - the silver paleograph found in Butuan, the earthenware pot from Calatagan, Batangas and the most significant of all, the copper plate from Laguna de Bay dated 900 A.D.

In Pampanga, there are at least 3 sets of old Kapampangan scripts recorded during the Spanish colonial period. Copies of these can be found in the 1895 book of Cipriano Marcilla, the *Estudio delos Antiguos Alfabetos Filipinos*, like the copies made by Fray Alvaro de Benavente (1700?), Alfred March (1887) and Sinibaldo De Mas (1843 and 1863). These old scripts or characters are composed of 3 old forms of *suala* or *kakatni* (vowel equivalent of / a / , / i / , and / u /) and

LETRAS Y FIGURAS

Wealthy families and individuals commissioned painters in the 18th and 19th centuries to paint important events, people and places in their lives and other autobiographical sketches in such a way that when seen from a certain distance, the aggrupation of these images form acronyms, words, phrases or even numbers. This quaint art is called *letras y figuras* (letters and fugures). The skill of a *letras y figuras* artist can be measured by the subtlety with which he is able to form these figures into the desired letters, as well as by the element of surprise upon the viewer's discovery of the letters. Most *letras y figuras* paintings are museum pieces but surprisingly, one Kapampangan still makes them. His name is Alvaro M. Jimenez of Bacolor, Pampanga. He learned the art mostly by studying the masters' works although he got formal schooling at the Don Honorio



Ventura memorial School of Arts and Trades in Bacolor, where he finished the degree BS in Industrial Education Major in Architectural Drafting and Art Appreciation. An unassuming man, he plays the violin with friends, sometimes accepting invitations to

perform in school activities like those at Holy Angel University. His works have been exhibited at the Ayala Museum, the National Museum, the Manila Metropolitan Museum and dozens of hotels and galleries.

11 forms of mikikadni (representing 2 consonant equivalents, /d/ and /r/ only has 1 and the same script character). Studies undertaken by Michael Pangilinan and Edwin Camaya, both researchers of Kapampangan language, suggest the other use of the old *suala* characters as *kambal sua* (stressed forms which are now represented by the use of diacritical marks) and *mikukuyug* a *suala* (diphthongs like /e/ [/a+/i/] and /o/ [/a+/u/]). Although other paleographers including Fray Alvaro de Benavente proposed that the character symbols for /e/ and /i/ are

just the same and that of /o/ and /u/.

Minalin Wood Inscription

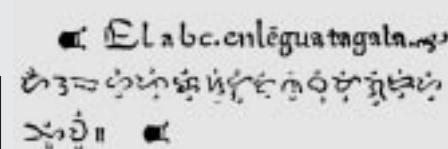
During the church heritage visits of KAMARU (Former HAU Archaeological Society) in the summer months of 2003, they found a neglected wood fragment, formerly part of the old roof frame of Sta. Monica Parish in Minalin, Pampanga. This fragment is one of the few remnants left and is now kept inside the museum of the said church's convent. One of the surface ends of this wood contains a very brief incision of old scripts. The old scripts resemble much of

the old Kapampangan and Sambal scripts recorded in the Estudio delos Antiguos Alfabetos Filipinos. The scripts may suggest a technical label of a carpenter's plan of construction, or it may have been a part of marking the type of timber being classified. The earlier form of building materials was primarily composed of sturdy logs sourced from the mountains of Zambales which supplied most of the material for the old church structures, galleon ships and early palisades. These were very similar to those built in the old kuta of Manila, Tondo, Betis and Lubao. They were also used for the manufacture of big boats like the *barange* and *biruk* models. Most documents point to the creation of Minalin pueblo in 1614 while records show that the Sta. Monica Parish was finished before 1834 and was reconstructed in 1854. Fr. Isidro Bernardo restored and decorated the church in 1854, while Frs. Galo dela Fuente and Vicente Ruiz made some repairs on this church in 1855 and 1895, respectively. Nevertheless, the antiquity of the wood fragment is relatively not as important as the inscriptions. The interesting fact lies on the literate manner of writing in the old local calligraphy probably written during the time the roof frame of the church was constructed. It was said that the native scripts played an important role in the secret military communications of early members of the Katipuneros (early 1892) composed mostly by Kapampangans and Tagalogs.

HANDWRITING FROM THE 1600S



These are a few of the samples of 17th century Tagalog Baybayin handwriting that are kept in the archives of the University of Santo Tomás (UST Archivos Libros, tomo 22). These images were traced from photos in a book by Alberto Santamaría, *El 'Baybayin' en el archivo de Sto. Tomás, 1938*. Here are six signatures and excerpts from two land deeds. Notice in the first example that Don Dionisio Kapolong wrote a *kudlit* above and below the letter "Da" in order to write both "Don" and "Di" with just one character. Kapolong was the son of Lakan Dula.



This is an excerpt from the *Doctrina Christiana, en lengua española y tagala*, which was one of the first two books printed in the Philippines - the other being the *Tratado de la Doctrina de la Santa Iglesia y de ciencias naturales*, written in Spanish and Chinese. Both books were printed in 1593.

Transcription of Text

The abc. in the Tagalog language
A U/O I/E Ha Pa Ka Sa La T
a Na Ba Ma Ga D/Ra Ya
NGa Wa ||

(Excerpt from Paul Morrow's website: <http://www.mts.net/~pmorrow/handwrit.htm>; <http://www.mts.net/~pmorrow/abc.htm>)



The late Apung Luding Franco of Pescadores, Candaba waits for the rice and fish to ferment inside sealed jars

BURUNG BABI, BURUNG ASAN

FERMENTATION AS A WAY OF PRESERVING
THE HARVESTS OF SUMMER AND FLOOD SEASONS

By Myra P. Lopez

With the preponderance of fast food all over, it's good to know that an ancient technique of food preparation involving meticulous care and long days of waiting has survived in Pampanga. This is the unique, controversial love-it-or-hate-it buru, or fermented rice, which lovers call food for the gods, and which haters compare to cat's vomit. It's almost a staple fare on Kapampangan buffet tables alongside fresh and boiled vegetables and fried catfish.

One town in Pampanga is known for its buru—the town of Candaba. While Kapampangans, like the rest of Filipinos,

have begun using tilapia, gurami and shrimp (balobalo), etc. for their buru, it is only Kapampangans in Candaba who still make buru out of pork (burung babi) and bulig or mudfish (burung asan).

The people of Candaba, who call themselves Candabeños, are used to a hard life punctuated by calamities; they live on a floodplain that used to be a prehistoric lake that dried up and became a swamp during colonial times. Perennial floodwater from the Pampanga River collects and stays for months in this depression, which has forced Candaba farmers to turn fishermen for a

half-year. "Every household has its own banca. Children two to three years old are being given informal swimming lessons—not in the pool but in five to 10 feet of floodwaters. Food and rice are stored for rainy seasons. Hand tractors are always ready in case the roads are not passable for jeepneys and motorized tricycles," Mang Poncing said in an interview for the September 30, 2006 issue of SunStar Pampanga.

It is no surprise that the preparation and ingredients of the Candabeños' burung asan and burung babi reflect their land and their coping mechanisms to it. Their catch has to be fermented as a way of preserving and making it last—the pork (babi) when the floods come, and the fish (asan) when the floods are gone

Until her death recently, the most popular buru maker of Candaba had been the 81-year-old Lourdes "Apung Luding" Franco of barangay Pescadores. She put

DIFFERENTIATING TOCINO, PINDANG AND BURUNG BABI

In Candaba, the fermented strips of pork and rice is called burung babi.



Tocino as sweetened cured meat



Tocino as rice cake in Concepcion, Tarlac



Tocino del cielo - mini leche flan of Minalin



Burung babi of Candaba is fermented meat with rice



Burung babi elsewhere in Pampanga is synonym of pindang, cured meat turned sour

Elsewhere in Pampanga, the term burung babi is synonymous to pindang, which is fermented meat minus the rice. On the other hand, cured meat, like the sweetened commercial variety, is called tocino.

In barrio San Jose in Concepcion, Tarlac, which is still part of the Kapampangan Region, tocino is not meat at all, but kalame (rice cake), made of galapong (ground rice) and gata (coconut milk), similar to the tocino del cielo of Minalin town, which are tiny leche flan.

THIS UNIQUE KAPAMPANGAN TABLE FARE HAS BEEN COMPARED TO CAT'S VOMIT

up her own small buru shop after her friend Natividad, who had taught her the art of making burung asan, migrated to the United States 10 years ago. Apung Luding started with only 5 to 10 takup of buru, selling them at P10 apiece. Her daughter-in-law had taken over the shop since her death, thus ensuring the survival of the small industry.

BURUNG ASAN

Ingredients:

Bulig (mudfish)

Rice

Salt

Preparation:

Fish:

1 First wash thoroughly the bulig, which must be fresh

2. Brush the fish until it turns white, making sure there is no trace of blood left.
3. Salt the fish and put it in an air-tight container; set aside for one day
4. After one day, wash the fish thoroughly and set aside for the next step

Rice:

1. wash the rice, preferably Class 42
 2. cook rice until done
 3. let the rice cool and add salt to taste; make sure not to add salt while rice is hot, or it will spoil easily.
 4. arrange the fish one layer at a time, alternating with a rice layer, in a sterilized garapon (wide-mouth glass jar); seal the jar to prevent air from seeping in, or else ularan da ing buru (maggots will spoil the buru)
 5. keep the sealed jar containing the buru for 15 days.
 6. after the fermentation period, maslam ne (it is sour enough) and it is ready to cook
- Only few can make buru, there's a saying that nung mabuluk ya gamat ing ginawang buru ularan da iti

DIFFERENTIATING ENSAYMADA, EMPANADA, PANADA AND PANARA

The ensaymada is not unique to Kapampangans, nor is the empanada. But the panada or panara is most likely found only in Kapampangan-speaking areas in Central Luzon. Unfortunately, Kapampangans themselves hardly know how to prepare it anymore.

To avoid confusion, here's how to distinguish one from the other:

Ensaymada or ensaymada is the puffy bread with tons of white sugar, cheese and butter as topping. Malolos, Bulacan makes the largest ensaymada, but old families in San Fernando, Pampanga are said to make the best ensaymadas.

Empanada, on the other hand, is the local meat pie, i.e., dough with ground pork or chicken strips stuffing. Nowadays there are a zillion variations of the empanada, with stuffing ranging from sweet ham to vegetable to fish to sausage.

The poor man's empanada is the panada (that's empanada minus the first syllable). It's interchangeably pronounced as panara, since d and r are interchangeable in the Kapampangan language.

The difference between empanada and panada/panara is the stuffing. Panada/Panara uses only grated papaya because obviously, that's all that the poor could afford. And to make it palatable, our ancestors spiced it with lots of black pepper, which, it turned out, transformed the lowly panara into a delicacy.

Only a few households in Concepcion, Tarlac and some towns in Pampanga still make panara. Once upon a time, everyone had panara after the simbang bengi (Christmas dawn Mass). Today, the panara is just a memory, often confused with empanada.

SAMANI: THE EDIBLE BASKET

THIS QUANT PRODUCT IS FOUND ONLY IN ARAYAT TOWN

The samani used to be a favorite table centerpiece during fiestas and banquets; sometimes visitors brought it as a gift to the host or celebrator. Today, only a few households in Arayat make samani.

Main ingredients: oversized mani (peanuts), white peeled peanuts

Preparation: Roast in a kawa (vat) over low fire. set aside muscovado sugar for making syrup or caramel, to coat peanuts; the coated peanuts are arranged to form a flower basket, the syrup is used as adhesive





BI NULU

KAPAMPANGANS IN PORAC ADOPT AN AETA COOKING TECHNIQUE

By Ana Marie Vergara

According to Silvestre David, barangay chairman of Babo Sakan, Porac, the abundance of bulu in Porac led to the practice of cooking binulu-style since ancient times. On special occasions like fiestas, his father would tell him, "Tara, munta ka ta babo (bunduk), maminulu kata." Guests from other towns usually requested binulu as the main attraction of the banquet.

Mayor Exequiel Gamboa of Porac, with the support of Porac parish priest Fr. Elmer Simbulan, organized the first Binulu Festival which was held on November 5, 2005. Its aim was to revive the ancient practice and make Porac residents, as well as the rest of the Kapampangans, not only appreciate the ways of their ancestors but actually cook binulu-style once again as a kitchen option. Binulu teaches the value of making use what is available. (Since prehistoric Kapampangans generally used earthen pots in cooking as evidenced by archaeological finds in Porac, it's possible that binulu was first used by mountain tribes that were constantly moving, and passed on to settlers who used bamboo as alternative to pots in times of evacuation.) The local government wanted to let the rest of the world know that Porac's reputation

goes beyond the quality sand that its lucrative quarry industry produces.

Binulu is both a way of cooking food and a way of presenting the cooked food. All ingredients are put in a bulu (member of the bamboo family used in making sawali, woven bamboo splits) which functions as a canister; the basic ingredients are tomatoes, kamias, onions, garlic, salt and your choice of chicken, pork, seafood or fish. All cut in small pieces (small enough to fit in the bamboo) which are first mixed in a bowl before being put all together inside the bulu up to $\frac{3}{4}$ full. Meanwhile, rice is cooked binulu-style by first wrapping abias (uncooked rice) in banana leaf, like suman, which is equivalent to one serving; you can put as many as four pieces of wrapped rice in one bulu. Another, quicker way to cook rice in a bulu dispenses with banana leaf wrapping; instead, a small hole is cut on the bulu through which uncooked rice is inserted and, after the hole is covered, the bulu is laid horizontally on fire; this technique is called patulang.

Let's cook the binulu way

All ingredients plus a cup of water are

inserted in the bulu, lay the bulu down or lean it against a batayan, which is another bulu, or piece of wood, or steel. The batayan is propped up or supported by the patukud. The food is cooked when the meat is tender.

For rice, after the abias is put in, the bulu is filled with water until it overflows. It is considered cooked when the water turns green (from the banana leaves).

Other tips:

1. Choose a malagung bulu (young bamboo), whose moisture prevents food from burning
2. Cut the bulu in scallop so it does not break in two.
3. Don't use patis (fish sauce), which produces a bad smell
4. Add pandan leaves in rice for flavor and aroma
5. Don't press the rice too much when inserting in the bulu to avoid gagtu (half-cooked rice)
6. Keep the bulu still throughout cooking and don't let anything hit it or the food will not cook well
7. After removing the bulu from the fire, the residual heat in the bulu continues to cook the food inside (panangnangan)



1. Wrap uncooked rice (abias) with banana leaf a la suman 2. Insert in bamboo pole (bulu) 3. Add water 4. Put bulu over fire until water turns green and wrapped rice pops up 5. The cooked rice is ready to eat

The frothy mug of suklati that our grandparents prepared for breakfast, segundo minindal (snacks) or even before bedtime is rarely served now. Popular lifestyle has changed through the decades; the age of native cooking has ended with the proliferation of fast foods and the rise of the malls.

But to 83-year-old Victoria Alviz Almario or Apung Toyang, the art of preparing suklati has remained the same through the years. Until now Apung Toyang prepares the traditional chocolate tablea (flat cylindrical shaped chocolate) from which the foamy suklati is made. This she learned as a young wife in 1953 from her mother-in-law. As is true with all Kapampangan artists and craftsmen, she is more concerned with the preservation of the authenticity and accuracy of the preparation rather than its commercialization. She maintains a chocolate shop which doubles as residence within the commercial area of Guagua, Pampanga, with a tiny signboard buried alongside other bigger establishments in the area. She still gets a steady but slow stream of customers. This however is not always the case. The only time that she gets an increased order is during the months of November and December.

Preparation
1. She prepares the two main ingredients: mani (peanuts) and kako (cacao). In buying peanuts, the native nuts (smaller) taste better but take more time to peel.
2. The peanuts are peeled off their hard shell and roasted in a wide iron vat (kaua) and constantly turned until they become brown and crisp. They should be evenly cooked. Then

Then they are cracked and peeled. This is followed by sifting (bibitse) the cracked cacao to separate the beans from the powdery cacao shells, a process done manually using the hand-woven bitse.

4. When both the peanuts and cacao have been roasted, they are now ground together in a manual grinder (guilingan bacal). At this point the mixture becomes oily from the peanuts. For an even consistency, the ground mixture is placed in a big bowl (palanggana) where it is mixed again manually in a wooden ladle.

5. For the second time the mixture is blended in an electric grinder to produce a finer, creamier and smoother chocolate.

6. This smooth blob of chocolate is now refrigerated, until it becomes firm.

7. The last step is when this thick, firm chocolate is shaped into tablea, with the use of a tabrilla, similar to the molds used for polvoron.

8. Now they are ready to be packed into fifty tableas.

For a truly delicious cup of suklati, Apung Toyang suggests two tableas per cup with sugar and milk to taste (she uses any evaporated milk, but others use carabao milk). In a bronze or copper chocolatera (chocolatier) the mixture of tableas, boiling water, milk and sugar is mixed by beating, using a wooden manonillo or batidor (batter;) until it becomes frothy.



SUKLATI KING BATIRUL

THE CHOCOLATE DRINK OF A VANISHED KAPAMPANGAN GENTEEL LIFESTYLE

By Erlinda Cruz

they are cooled in room temperature.

3. The same procedure is done with the cacao. Apung Toyang says that in buying cacao, one has to choose the round ones (e la pipit, not flattened). The fresh cacao should be firm or hard and should not collapse when pressed between your fingers (e la dapat malalaso potang paslan mula).



Apung Toyang of Guagua and her traditional chocolate tablea

Because Kapampangans sometimes pronounce their d as r and their o as u, batidor (instrument for beating) eventually became batirur which became batirul

SANIKULAS

A BISCUIT AND A PRAYER

The biscuit, which is best served with tsokolate, is named after St. Nicholas de Tolentino, whose middle-aged parents, Compagnonus de Guarutti and Amata de Guidiani, were childless until a prayerful visit to a shrine of the original Saint Nicholas at Bari, Italy. In gratitude, they named their son, Nicholas.

The Augustinian friars brought the San Nicolas bread to Pampanga during the Spanish Period with variations from the local bread. The biscuit is made with arrowroot starch. Locally known as araro, the arrowroot plant has rhizomes (or roots) that yield edible and almost pure starch. The powder is used in cookery as a thickener. Arrowroot is chiefly valuable as an easily digested, nourishing diet for convalescents, especially with bowel complaints. It also has other medicinal properties such that the mashed rhizomes are used as application to wounds from poisoned arrows, scorpion and black spider bites,



Lilian Borromeo of Mexico makes the best sanikulas in town



Frog catchers in Magalang use a long bamboo pole, a bait, a basket and plenty of silence

KISS THE FROGS GOOD-BYE

GLOBAL WARMING, POLLUTION AND RAPID URBANIZATION ARE DESTROYING THE FROGS' NATURAL HABITATS IN PAMPANGA

By Erlinda E. Cruz

"Anything that flies or moves," writes Gilda Cordero Fernando, "the rural Filipino quickly swats, cooks and eats."

The Kapampangans are an agricultural people, close to the fields, forest and streams (from where comes exotic food). Getting free food from the fields, forests, rivers in the right seasons is part survival and part providential. The earth continues to replenish itself and all around, possibilities seem endless. Thus, it is in the rural, oftentimes, remote areas where exotic food start and reach our tables. Our options are expanded in the many additions to our usual food fare.

Mamaduas Tugak (Frog Catching)

The frog is a part of Kapampangan tradition and culinary culture dating back to pre-Hispanic times. In the early days when farmers were totally dependent on rain-water to irrigate their farms, the children

would gamely catch the frogs while their elders were busy cultivating the land or planting rice. This game eventually became an opportunity for families to establish strong bond as the technique used in catching frogs evolved to the point of being ritualistic. It was not unusual to see families on top of a pilapil in many rice fields with their paduas (rod) on one hand and panyapu (bag or basket) on the other. They would patiently wait for the frogs to bite the bulateng tudtud (worm used as bait) as they move the paduas in a slow horizontal direction. They do this very quietly so that the frogs would not be agitated.

This practice of frog catching was handed down to the succeeding generations. Though the mamaduas (frog catcher) have decreased this day, people in the rural areas still carry this tradition for their own consumption or for commercial pur-

poses. Because frogs in the rice fields only ate insects, the people concluded that they were safe to eat and thus tried to make dishes using them. The Kapampangans, known for their virtuosity in their cuisine, ultimately discovered the gastronomic attributes of the frogs. Indigenous ingredients that is used to create various exotic recipes like the betute, a relleno-style dressed frog stuffed with minced frog meat or pork and some finely chopped herbs and spices. Traditional frog recipes include adobung tugak, tinolang tugak, lelut tugak and almondigas. Today's culinary gurus have included recipes of Asian and European influences such as froglegs and mushroom teriyaki, frog in fricassee, frogleg sauce piquant, frog burger, frog salad and many more.

To date, the betute is the most sought after frog delicacy in restaurants which serve Kapampangan food. The continued

patronage of this exotic cuisine ensures a stable income to the restaurants and of course to the frog catchers.

Betute probably came from an old Kapampangan word (still used in some towns in Nueva Ecija) that means barbecue- a hint at the manner of cooking the frog.

The Preparation

The mamaduas tugak (frog catchers) prepare their materials before they go to the ricefields to harvest these amphibians, particularly at the start of the rainy season (July-August). First, they prepare the rod, which could be a bamboo pole, bulo, or even timbu (the stem of tiger grass usually used for making brooms). At the narrow end of the pole, a string is attached which in turn ends with the panyaklit (the circular catch with the baits). This catch is made by stringing bulating tudtud (earth-worms) with the use of the needles sharp tip of a wild grass (either dikut damulag, *Axonopus compressus* [Sw. Beauv.] or *Dactyloctenium aegyptium* [L.] Richt, or kurus-kuruan, *Chloris barbata* [L.] Sw.) (found around paddies). When this is not available, a needle is used. But before the worms are strung, the mamaduas squeezes the bulati with his fingers (lalako la tabud) until what remains of the worm is just the skin, which makes for stronger bait. When preparing the bait, the needle or pointed tip goes through the whole length of the worm (skin) so that after stringing several baits the circular catch is filled with the shirred skin of the worms. The mamaduas brings extra bulati wrapped in banana leave so that they don't dry up.

Frogs abound in wet rice paddies or in other saturated fields or grassy undisturbed places. By nature, they are habitual dwellers and would always go back to their original habitat.

Kinds of frogs:

Tugak generally refers to frogs such as tugak pepekat or tugak saba (*Rana erythraea*) and tugak kakanan or tugak



Frog-catching implements include the bait, a worm strung with wild grass

tutu, the native frog (*Rana Cancrinova* and *Rana limnocharis*) which are green, brown or with spots and stripe at the back.

Karag - refers to varieties of toads which are stout and have warty skins; examples are the baner (*Bufo marinus*, widely distributed in the Philippines and introduced to the islands during the American Period) and the karag gubat (*Bufo biforcatus philipinicus*) which old folks claim is also edible and delicious especially its muscled leg parts.

Uses of Frogs:

Aside from their gastronomic value frogs are also used by farmers-fishermen as pamalwe (bait) for the bulig (mudfish). They make a patukba (a curved fishing rod) where frogs with metal hooks (taga) are aligned and then submerged into the rivers or streams to attract the mudfish.

Piestang Tugak

For the past four years, the City of San Fernando has been celebrating Piestang Tugak, an annual frog festival organized by the city government to preserve and promote the frog traditions of the province. It is one of the activities held in conjunction with their celebration of the cityhood of San Fernando.

Among the different competitions for the Piestang Tugak are:

- Frog catching
 - Frog costume
 - Frog Olympics
 - Frog Cuisine
 - On-the-spot drawing
- The Prince of Frog Recipes
Betute:

The ugly creature does not turn into a

handsome prince at your dinner table. It becomes an obscene betute on your dinner plate. The betute is the most popular and appetizing way of cooking this amphibian. In earlier times the more prudish cooks tied the legs of the frogs snugly before frying them so that they did not spreadeagle vulgarly during the frying (e la makabukaka). Nowadays, the cooks' concern is not the visual

layout of the betute but the taste of the dish. This frog recipe is an excellent example of Kapampangan creativity in the culinary arts.

The preparation starts with the live frog set on a chopping board. The butcher uses ash or salt to hold the slimy creature firmly on the board as he makes a cut between the frog's head and body but not cutting through the neck side. This is for the cook to have a good grasp of the head for the next step. From this cut between the head and the body, the skin is ripped off from the nape down to the legs in one brutal movement, like a superhero's suit being shorn off. At this point the frog is still very much alive with its naked body jerking violently.

After the skin is discarded, the head is now cut off totally and the innards carefully removed so that the frog's translucent body is not torn. Then the lower portion of the frog's legs are also cut off (from the knees down). It is now washed clean until no trace of blood is found and finally it is drained. The stuffing is now prepared.

Ingredients of Stuffing:

1. Minced pork or frog meat (the smaller frogs)
2. garlic, onion, pepper, beaten egg, salt
3. tangle, optional (chopped)

Procedure:

1. The ingredients above are mixed in a bowl
2. The frog is stuffed carefully with the mixture. Make sure the mixture is packed up tightly
3. Fry the betute in cooking oil until golden brown.



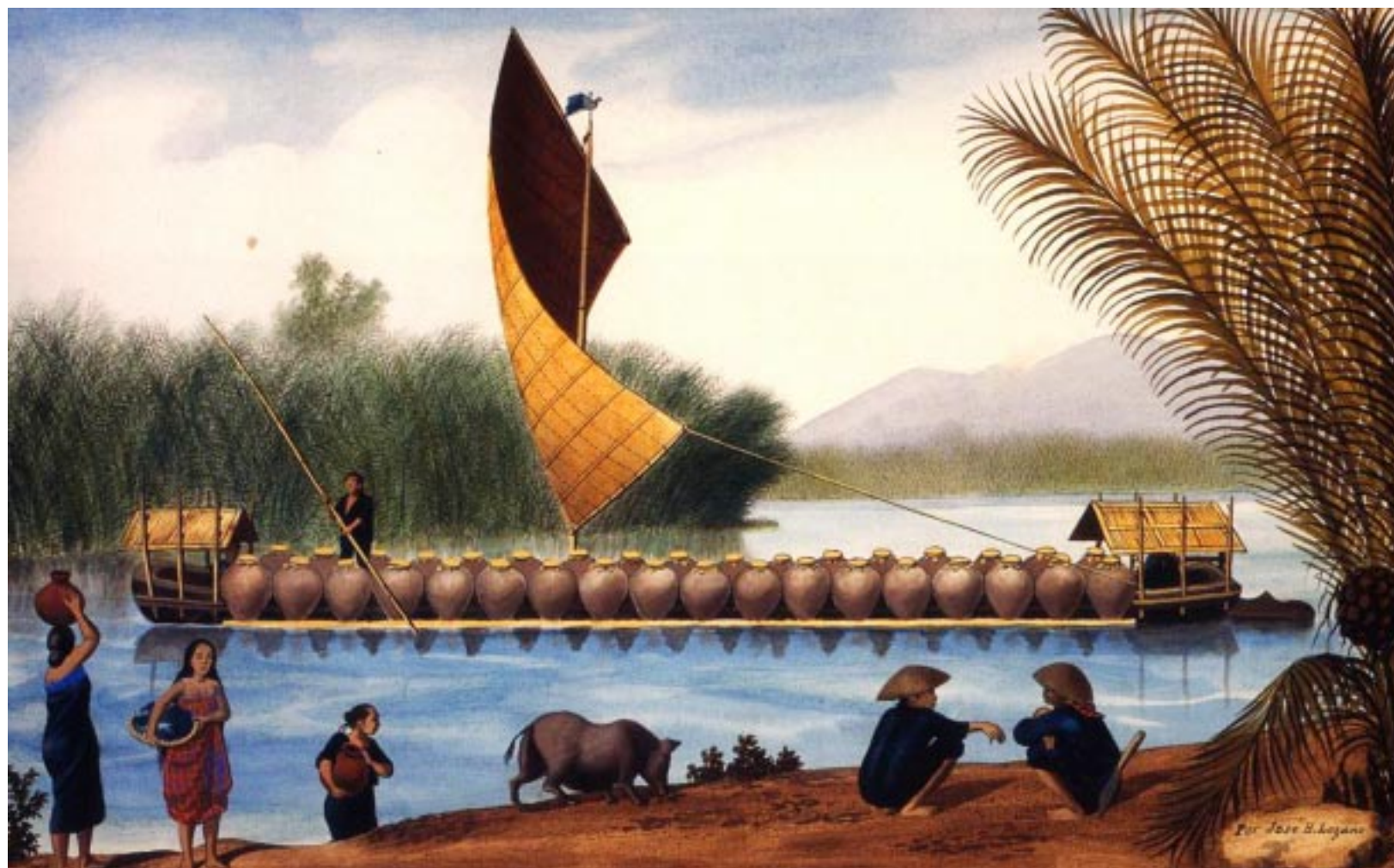
In preparing the betute, the frog is dressed first by peeling off its skin



The extremities are cut off



The frogs are ready for stuffing with minced frog meat and bones, or ground pork



Harvested sasa palm juice in jars being transported through the river

THE LOST TRADITION OF WINE- AND VINEGAR-MAKING IN PAMPANGA

OVERPOPULATION AND SILTATION WIPED OUT NIPA GROVES IN THE RIVER DELTA, WHICH WERE THE SOURCE OF *TUBA*, *LAMBANUG* AND *ASLAM SASÁ*

By Ruel Sunga Manaloto and Joel Pabustan Mallari

Tuba is the sap that flows out of the sasá (*Nypa fruticans* Wurmb.), from the stem of its palm fruits. Gathering tuba requires awareness, talent, persistence and care. One has to know exactly when it is appropriate to cut the bunch of fruits; how to paldak-paldakan (that is, kick the stems) and how to agud-aguran (care for them). When fruit stems begin to duku (bend), the manuba (tuba gatherer) cleans the stems and kicks them repeatedly for pitung biernis or pitung dumingo (the ritual specifies the stem must be kicked 7 times a day 3 times a week, for a total of 7 weeks). After which, a bunch of fruits is cut at the end of the stem using a curved knife known locally as karit (the word already appears in an early 18th Kapampangan dictionary of Fray Diego Bergano). The cut must be slightly inclined, the cutting done little by little as in karit-

karitan every extracting time, which usually occurs twice to thrice a day, one before sunrise, one at midday and one more after sunset. When gathered in the early morning, the sap is sweeter and has the taste of soft drinks; it is called tubang tinumis, which can be poured like soup on hot rice as soup. The first extract of sap is what the people of Minalin call tuba; the excess volume when carried to the next day's consumption is mikabukasan or miaslagan; when it becomes sour then they call it balasubas. After a couple of days, it already tastes like wine and that's when it is called tuba by people of most towns around Manila Bay. If fermented further in jars and it becomes much sourer, it is now what most people nowadays call aslam sasá, the sasá vinegar. This tradition has been passed on to the early people of Paombong; it is the major industry of

this lowly town of Bulacan; the product is now popularly known as suka paombong.

A container, usually a bamboo tube called tuquil or tukil ($\frac{1}{2}$ kabias, or half-node length; the smaller sizes were called tuquilitas by the Spaniards) or a plastic bag, is attached to the end of the stem to catch the free-flowing sap. A good flow is about 1 gallon of sap every morning from each stem. Sap is harvested from each stem for the duration of only one month or else the sasá plant will die of overdone.

It can be said in passing that the leaves of the sasá palm are good for roofing and siding; early Kapampangan carpenters called such roofs as pinaud a dalungdung and such sidings as pinaud a dingding. The stem of the leaves is used as firewood. The fruit, if not utilized for tuba, is used to make the delicacy known in Mindoro as bagkat, very similar to the Kapampangan

tinaklub (which is made from sugarcane). Lastly, the trunk is used as firewood.

Pita's lambanog

Ethno-histories collected by Luther Parker in the early 1900s, already mention a robust tuba industry in Minalin and Sexmoan (Sasmuan). Orani town, formerly part of Pampanga and now within Bataan, used to have large tracts of kasasán (sasá groves). Today, tuba is still produced in this town but in smaller quantities and primarily for local consumption only. Tuba, lambanog and basi have basically the same process of production throughout the archipelago. But nowadays, tuba is usually made from coconut flower sap instead of from sasá. In Tayabas, a town in Aurora (once part of Quezon Province, formerly named Tayabas Province) which was once part of La Pampanga, festive occasions will not be complete without the traditional tagayan or wine-drinking session using a single glass and repeated swigs of lambanog, the fiery coconut-based liquor. This liquor is a major source of income among Tayabas residents, one of whom was Joselito Mallari, owner of Mallari's Distillery, a big wine factory in Barangay Lalo. Lambanog, also called coconut vodka, is created from the dripping sap called tuba from the coconut flower. The sweet and frothy tuba—a rejuvenating drink in itself—is prepared through the natural process of fermentation and distillation, producing the chemical-free lambanog, the most sought-after product of Tayabas. The Mallaris of this town link their family history with the native liquor, formerly known here as Pita's lambanog. Their old distillery stove in the first factory has the year 1918 engraved on it. The recent Asian Ethnic Food Festival classified lambanog, advertised as the "flower-based liquor," as an "ethnic drink." In another trade festival in Germany last August, 2003, lambanog was chosen as the Most Trendy Product.

Early 18th Century words related to tuba

The tuba of today refers to the flower sap from sasa palm or ngungut (coconut) which is then fermented in jars for making lambanog. In 18th century Kapampangan vocabularies, tuba is defined as a small fruit with which to daze (intoxicate) fish in the water as a method of catching it. Another word with related etymology is tubas, the term for liquor/sap becoming acidic; furthermore, katubasan, ketubasan are also in the ancient dictionary, referring to the vinegar that has become, and remains,

acidic/sour. The words also refer to fruits that are over-ripe, or rotten, and have turned acidic. In the Visayas, the paog (sasang tuba of the Kapampangans) is made from the sap of wild trees, usually strengthened—and given a red color—by the addition of ground tungug or lawaan bark. The tuba made from coconut palms is considered better and a profitable item of trade; it is distilled into alak which is of course sold at a much higher price than oil, vinegar or nuts.

The purity of tuba is likened to gold, and is described as dalise (dalisai), delise (or delisai); madelise refers to either pure gold or pure wine. Ganđo is spoiled/rancid wine or vinegar.

Other terms related to this old tradi-



tion include:

tungga, to steal the sap/tuba of the palms/sasá.

agum, to mix, to compound, like wine with oil.

alac, the liquor, drawn out, distilled, like coco wine now known as lambanog; water from flowers, alak sampaga, while pialakan, is the residue; grape wine is commonly called alac. Antonio Pigafetta, in his visit to Suluan in the Visayas, was presented with a jarful of what he recorded as uraca - that is, arak, the Malay-Arabic word for distilled liquors. Any drink diluted with wine, etc. is called as dénuman mon alac, which is called lambug in the Visayas.

yoyo is the sasá palms which are close to producing tuba.

sagúm, to mix drinks (not make a mixture), v. g. liquor and beverages, or one wine with another kind, in a way, of the same kind, and therefore, not of water with wine, because they belong to different

kinds, and this is to make a mixture, lauc, to temper.

sangsang, is that piercing itch that goes to the head through the nostrils, due to the strong smell of the powder, or fumes of the mustard, or the smoke of strong tobacco, when it is sniffed or chewed; or strong wine when it is sniffed and goes up to the head; simsim, to taste a little, to test, like wine from a new vat;

sirí, highly effective, quickly effective, very active element, like strong wine, etc.;

tiquis, the delicious taste of tuba (sasa palm wine). Thus: Anggan mayumung tiquis, malda lang capapanic, ing balang micatictic, non ela paimburis, literally, "In time of prosperity, a man has many friends, but in times of hardships, friends abandon you." Mipaluc alac, refers to a heavy drinker; pataramán, is to strengthen an iron tool with a steel edge, which also applies to the one who is enlivened, like with a glass of liquor; magpataram, reciprocal, like drinking liquor to become enlivened, bold, brave.

anglab, to eat meat or fish without rice, but drinking wine; opposite to anglop, which is to sip or suck/sup, like eggs, gruel, soup, anything liquid except wine, which is alduc, to gulp. Anglab, purposely, in order to be able to drink more; they take it from the Tagalogs, who, to engage longer in a drinking bout, eat without rice, in this way excite more their appetite.

anyan, manyan, minyan, to eat viands without rice, even if there is rice, because he does not like it; the phrase "Obat makanyan ka?" which roughly means "Why are you like that?" may have evolved from this word. paniti, to abstain, to turn aside, to avoid materially and formally, like Maniti cang micasala, minum danum, "Abstain from sinning, from drinking water."

sauac, one who consumes, eats, or drinks to excess, since it does not cost him anything, nor pains him in any way. Seuacan, the food, or the farm wherewith or wherein he behaves in such manner. This apparently reflects the abundance of food harvest in the region—thus the present term sauang which applies to the unexpected abundance of things like food in a fiesta.

tacao, inordinate appetite, or desire to eat and drink, gluttony, including the greed for a farm, and further constructions include manacao, to steal; mapanacao, thief; capanacauan, thievery, stealing; mipanacao, stealing from one another, and mipanacao, with company, it is said, either if they speak of things concealed, or if they are fond of stolen things. Moreover, mipanacao lang misabi, or, mipaglolao, They talk, or are courting stealthily/ in secret.

Pampanga was once tobacco land

SAN ISIDRO TOWN IN OLD PAMPANGA (NOW NUEVA ECIJA)
USED TO BE CALLED FACTORIA BECAUSE IT WAS
THE CENTER OF TOBACCO PRODUCTION AND PROCESSING

By Lino L. Dizon

A. Castro



The Alcadia de (Province of) Pampanga, then still in its massive geographical state (extending almost from coast to coast in the midsection of Luzon Island), figured prominently in two events, which were climactic in the socio-cultural makeup of the entire Philippines at the turn of the 18th century, or what historians mark as Fin de Siècle.

One was the British occupation of Manila from 1762 to 1764, due to the larger war between Spain and England. The Spaniards, under Gen. Simón de Anda, relocated to Bacolor, Pampanga which served as their sanctuary and provisional capital.

Seven years later, in October of 1771, with Simón de Anda now the colony's official Governor-General, the province again figured prominently when it became the scene of the initial secularization of parishes, i.e., when Spanish government forces evicted Augustinian friars from their parishes to install native clergy.

A third event, with again Pampanga figuring prominently, is generally forgotten. This was the Tobacco Monopoly of 1782. Due to the depletion of its treasury, the Spanish colonial government decided to increase its revenues by controlling the production of tobacco. It is a little-known fact nowa-

days that Pampanga was among the first provinces where the monopoly was implemented. It also coincided with the chopping up of the gargantuan La Pampanga. Due to the government's policies on agriculture, dominated by tobacco, the provinces of Nueva Ecija and Nueva Vizcaya were created at that fin de siècle. (A third province, originally planned as Nueva Cuenca in the 1830s, materialized as Tarlac Province in 1873.)

The pueblo of Gapan, in the newly created Nueva Ecija (although it remained a Kapampangan-speaking town), was the seat of the Tobacco Monopoly in the whole of Central Luzon.

Although it was also Simón de Anda who initially conceived the monopoly to augment the government's depleted coffers after the British Occupation, it was Governor-General Jose Basco to whom the monopoly is credited.

Why tobacco? It was a joke among the Spaniards at the time that indios had learned to smoke before they learned to think. On the other hand, an Englishman asked an indio in the 1850s if the "Spaniards smoke these vile brands of cheroots to any extent?" and the latter's curt reply was "Smoke them? They do nothing else day and night!"

tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) was important both to Filipinos and Spaniards, which motivated the government to take an interest in it as a revenue-raising measure. Tobacco was so widespread that even indio women and children smoked or chewed it.

Gregorio Sancianco y Goson, in his *El progreso de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1881), described how tobacco was planted in Nueva Ecija (most likely Gapan):

"(It)...begins with the preparation of a seedbed in a small plot of ground in the months of September and October, covering it with rice straw or any dry leaves. While the plants grow to a height of one span, the land where they will be transplanted is tilled in December and January ordinarily and sometimes in November and February. When this is done and the plants have taken roots, the soil between the young plants is cultivated with a spade or plow, leaving furrows in the space between the plants."

In his memorias of 1850, Governor-General Rafael Díaz Arenas identified the definitive steps or phases of operations in the implementation of Tobacco Monopoly: *colección, fabrica and administración*.



Women were preferred as workers in tobacco factories (G. Fernando)

Colección was the purchase of tobacco leaves from contracted farmers. When Governor Basco announced on December 13, 1781 that the government was assuming control over tobacco manufacture and trade in Manila and the provinces of Tondo, Cavite, Batangas, Tayabas, Laguna de Bay, Pampanga, Bataan, and Bulacan, the town of Gapan was identified as the first site of colección, which meant tobacco harvests from Gapan, Cabanatuan, Santor, Bongabon, Palosapis, Tarlac, Magalang, and San Miguel de Mayumo, in the northeastern section of the old Pampanga.

Fabrica was the manufacture of leaves into cigars, cigarettes (cigarillos), and snuff (rapé). San Isidro, another Nueva Ecija town that used to be part of La Pampanga, was formerly known as Factoria, since it was where tobacco was manufactured. Instrucciones generales covering the operations of factories from 1782 to 1818 enumerated the manpower requirements in a factoria: dobladoras and envolvedoras (those who rolled cigars and cigarettes), cortadoras and torcedoras (those who clipped cigar ends or twisted them to a point), niveladoras (those who checked the weight of cigars and cigarettes), and recontadoras and encajilladoras or encajonadoras (those who counted, packed and boxed cigars and cigarettes). The factories also employed a variable number of clerks, porters, security guards, and all-purpose servants.

By the way, most of the workers in the factoria or fabrica were women, and this persisted even after the collapse of the monopoly by 1890s. It was an early Mexican administrator who had recommended women since he thought that women would do the work with greater care and perfection and with less risk of fraud. Anna D'Almeida, in her book *A Lady's Visit to Manila and Japan* (1863), described a cigarette factory in the arrabal of Binondo, which might also apply to the factoria of San Isidro in Nueva Ecija:

You walk down the middle of these galleries, where at long low tables on each side the women work, seated upon mats placed on the ground. The noise is very deafening, for each female is provided with a stone, about the size of a large lemon, with which she beats the leaves continually, reminding one of cooks beating beefsteaks. When the "coat" is thus prepared, they put a quantity of small chopped-up tobacco in the center, a little gum on the edge, and then roll it very adroitly till it assumes the desired form, after which the small end is nearly tapered off.

The third aspect of the Tobacco Monopoly was administración, which was the sale of manufactured products. Kapampangan writer E. Aguilar Cruz in his 1958 article "A Guide to Cigars" wrote that two brands had dominated the Philippine

market: Alhambra and Tabacalera. Later, competing brands included Coronas, Bellezas, Panatela, Sumatra, and the cellophaned (to distinguish them from the naked or ordinary) Presidentes. These are actually variations of how the Spaniards had classified tobacco into cigars, cigarettes and snuffs: colorado (or cigarro, puro or of pure color, clear, and less firm), cucarachero or de cucaracha (a snuff, not shaped), vinagrillo (flavored aromatically), and tabaco de regalia (of high quality, or how Alhambra and Tabacalera brought it into the Philippine market as Corona).

Eventually, the monopolio de tabaco encouraged banditry and smuggling activities. Contrabando, or smuggled goods, which started with tobacco, crept into the vocabulary of almost all Philippine languages and dialects. The resguardos, or the police tasked with the control of tobacco smuggling, became abusive and were dreaded during those times. No one was spared from the "tobacco epidemic" and tobacco-related paranoia. Even the Negritos of Patling and Upper Pampanga, were not spared from harassment by resguardos, who had suspected them of smuggling tobacco. The saintly Recollect friar, Fr. Juan Perez de Santa Lucia, heroically fought for their release from detention in the 1850s.

The abolition of the Tobacco Monopoly led to the mushrooming of many small private cigar and cigarette factories, which has sustained this bad habit of natives—one of Spain's enduring legacies.

Once upon a time, the Kapampangan region was a fully functioning, independent nation. Then History intervened. Today, four hundred years after colonizers altered our destiny, Kapampangans find themselves part of a larger nation called The Philippines—an evolving aggrupation of many varied cultures still in search of common ground.

We can no longer force the hands of time to undo what history has done. Our heroes and martyrs laid down their lives to bring all these regions together as one nation. In other parts of the world, regions that attempt to break away from the nation suffer tragic consequences. However, in our desire to hold ourselves together as one nation, we must never try to erase the individual cultural identities of regions.

Being a nation does not mean creating a new cultural identity out of mixing, assimilating or subordinating different regional cultures. Instead, being a nation means acknowledging and respecting these cultural differences and finding the common thread that runs through all these varied communities. We have enough common traits, common history and common destiny to unite us and make us One Nation.

The only way to define and strengthen the cultural identity of the Nation is to define and strengthen the cultural identities of the many communities that comprise it.

ONE NATION, DIFFERENT CULTURES, MANY LANGUAGES.

A Message from The Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies



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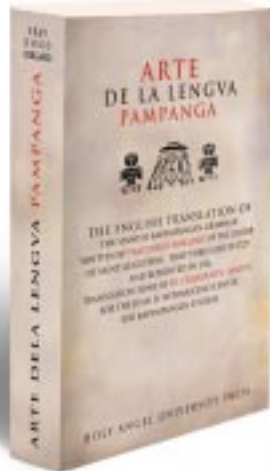


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